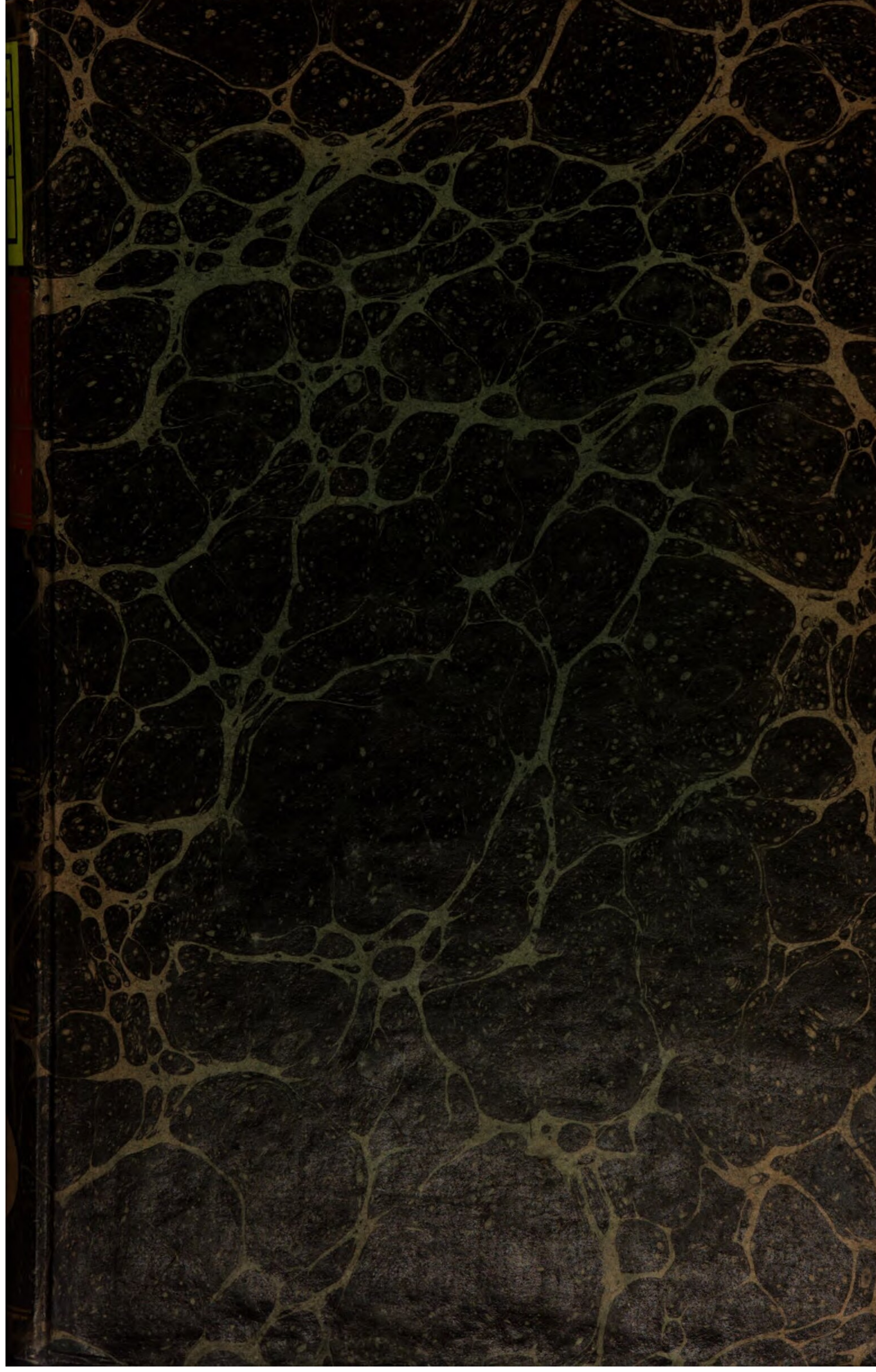




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T R A V E L S
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S W I T Z E R L A N D,

A N D I N T H E
C O U N T R Y O F T H E G R I S O N S:
I N A S E R I E S O F L E T T E R S T O *WILLIAM MELMOTH*, Esq.

F R O M
W I L L I A M C O X E,
M. A. F. R. S. F. A. S.

To which are added the Notes and Observations of
Mr. RAMOND, translated from the French.

A NEW EDITION

Embellished with a large new Map, and six Views
drawn by BIRMANN and engraved under his direction.

VOL. III.

B A S I L:

Printed and sold by JAMES DECKER.

PARIS, sold by LEVRULT FRERES, Quai Malaquais

1 8 0 2.

Je voudrois rechercher dans tous les gouvernemens
modérés que nous connoissons, quelle est la distribu-
tion des trois pouvoirs, et calculer par là le degré
de liberté dont chacun d'eux peut jouir.

MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Loix*, L. xi. c. 20.

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LETTERS, &c.

LETTER 62.

Payerne — Moudon — Geneva — Calvin.

Geneva, Sept. 6.

I TOOK leave of my friends at Langenau, in order to proceed to Avignon; where I am going to pay a visit to the *Abbé de Sade*, author of the interesting memoirs of the life of Petrarch. Monsieur de Vigur, a Senator of Soleure, offered me a place in his carriage to Berne: and, as my principal object in travelling is to acquire intelligence, I very gladly embraced this opportunity of leading my worthy and well-informed companion into a conversation, not only concerning the government of Soleure in particular, but in relation also to Switzerland in general; and I found him exceedingly well-disposed to answer the several questions he allowed me to propose to him.

The next day I repassed through Morat and Avenches, and slept at Payerne, a town in the canton of Berne, which enjoys considerable privileges. Upon the bridge over the Broye, is an ancient Roman inscription: as I was endeavouring to decipher it, a plain-looking man accosted me in a very solemn tone of voice, and said, he had often tried to make out the inscription, but without success; though he could read very well, and had a smattering in Latin. "For," added he, "what can be the meaning of N and I and O,

and all those great letters, which seem to have no connexion with each other? Give me a page of plain Latin, and I will translate it from the beginning to the end; but for these Ns, Is and Os; take my word for it, notwithstanding all your pains, you will never be the wiser." However, as I did not seem disposed to follow his advice, but, continued deciphering the inscription (which was by no means a difficult task) he appeared astonished at my obstinacy, and left me, with an apparent air of pity, to my hopeless fortune.

Moudon is a handsome town, the principal burgh of a bailliage of the same name, and formerly the capital of all that part of the Pays de Vaud, which belonged to the duke of Savoy. It was also the ordinary residence of his chief bailiff, and the place where the assembly of the states were accustomed to meet. The bailiff appointed by the sovereign council of Berne, resides in the castle of Lucens, built upon the summit of a mountain, in a situation exceedingly picturesque. This castle formerly belonged to the bishops of Lausanne, and was one of their favorite seats, before the reformation was introduced into this country.

Geneva lies upon the narrowest part of the lake, where the Rhone issues in two large and rapid streams, which soon afterwards unite. That river separates the city into two unequal divisions, receives the muddy Arve in its course, and flows through France into the Mediterranean. The adjacent country is uncommonly picturesque, and abounds in magnificent views: the several objects which compose this enchanting prospect, are, the town; the lake; the numerous hills and mountains,

particularly the Saleve and the Mole, rising suddenly from the plain in a variety of fantastic forms, backed by the glaciers of Savoy, with their frozen tops glistening in the sun; and the majestic Mont Blanc rearing its head far above the rest.

Geneva, which lies partly in the plain upon the borders of the lake, and partly upon a gentle ascent, is irregularly built; the houses are high, and many, which stand in the trading part of the city, have arcades of wood, which are raised even to the upper stories. These arcades, supported by pillars, give a gloomy appearance to the street; but are useful to the inhabitants in protecting them from the sun and rain. Geneva is by far the most populous town in Switzerland; and contains 24,000 souls. This superiority of numbers is undoubtedly owing to the great industry and activity of the inhabitants; to its more extensive commerce; to the facility of purchasing the burghership; and to the privileges which government allows to all foreigners. The members of this city are distinguished into citizens and burghesses, inhabitants and natives¹. The citizens and burghesses are alone admitted to a share in the government: the inhabitants are strangers who are allowed to settle in the town with certain privileges; and the natives are the sons of those inhabitants, who possess additional advantages. The two last classes form a large majority of the people.

The liberal policy of this government, in receiving strangers and conferring the burghership,

¹ Since de late revolution in 1782, there is a fifth class, called *domiciliés*, who receive from the magistrates an annual permission to remain in the city.

is the more remarkable as it is contrary to the spirit and usage of the Swiss. It is here, indeed, more necessary; the territory of this state being so exceedingly small, that its very existence depends upon the number and industry of the people: for, exclusive of the city, there are scarcely 16,000 souls in the whole district of the Genevois.

The reformed doctrines first preached at Geneva in 1533, by William Farel, a native of Gap in Dauphiné, and Peter Viret of Orbe, owed their final reception and establishment to John Calvin. That celebrated reformer was born at Noyon, in 1509, and being driven from France by the persecutions which Francis the First had raised against the protestants, made his first appearance in this city in 1536.

Notwithstanding Zuingli, Oecolampadius, and Haller, had reformed the greatest part of Switzerland, some years before that period; yet Calvin, as Voltaire justly observes, has given his name to the sectaries of the reformed religion, in the same manner as the new continent took its appellation from Americus Vesputius, although the original discovery was made by Columbus. And although Calvin was not the first reformer of Geneva; yet, as he gave additional strength and solidity to the new establishment, and founded the ecclesiastical form of government, he totally eclipsed the fame of his friend William Farel, who scattered the first seeds of reformation, which the other brought to maturity. In truth, so great was the ascendancy which Calvin, although a foreigner, acquired over the citizens, that he possessed considerable influence even in civil matters; and bore a large share in settling the political

constitution. Conscious that religion derives support from every branch of knowledge, he liberally promoted the cultivation of science, and the study of elegant literature. To this end, as well as to encourage theological erudition, he prevailed upon government to establish a public academy: but with singular disinterestedness declining the proposal of being appointed perpetual president, he obtained that office for his friend and fellow-laborer, Theodore Beza. In this new seminary, Calvin, with Theodore Beza, and his other colleagues, eminent for their superior knowledge, read lectures, with such uncommon reputation and success, as attracted students from all quarters.

There is such a striking splendor in the brighter parts of this disinterested and celebrated reformer's character, as to render us, at first glance, almost insensible to those dark spots which in some instances have obscured its glory. But when we reflect on his asperity and arrogance; and, above all, on the cruel persecution of Servetus; we cannot but lament that he did not rise superior to the intolerant principles of the age, which in all other instances he helped to enlighten. With regard, however, to his intolerant principles, it must be acknowledged, that the same uncharitable spirit prevailed also among many of the most celebrated reformers; who unaccountably conceived, in opposition, not only to the genius, but to the clearest precepts of the gospel, that persecution for conscience sake, although unchristian in every other ecclesiastical establishment, was justifiable in their own. This absurd and dangerous opinion, gave great advantage to their adversaries of the papal hierarchy: for, it is obvious to the meanest

understanding, that, if persecution is justifiable in any particular church, it must be so universally.

The republic of Geneva is, however, at present, the most tolerating of all the reformed states in Switzerland; being the only government in this country, which permits the public exercise of the Lutheran religion. In this respect the clergy, no less wisely, than suitably to the spirit as well as the letter of the Christian revelation, have renounced the principles of their great patriarch, Calvin; although they still hold that able reformer in high veneration; yet they know how to distinguish his virtues from his defects, and to admire the one without being blindly partial to the other.

I am, &c.

LETTER 63.

On the Literature of Geneva.

TO a man of letters Geneva is particularly interesting: learning is divested of pedantry, and philosophy united with a knowledge of the world; the pleasures of society are mixed with the pursuits of literature, and elegance and urbanity give a zest to the profoundest disquisitions. Nor are letters confined in this city merely to those who engage in them as a profession, or to those whose fortune and leisure enable them to follow where genius leads. Even the lower class of people are exceedingly well informed; and there is perhaps no city in Europe, where learning is more universally diffused. I received great satisfaction in

conversing even with several tradesmen upon topics both of literature and politics; and was astonished to find, in this class of men, so uncommon a share of knowledge. But the wonder ceases, when we are told, that all of them were educated at the public academy, where the children of the citizens are taught, under the inspection of the magistrates, and at the expense of government.

One circumstance in this seminary particularly contributes to excite the industry and emulation of the students: prizes are annually distributed to those, who have distinguished themselves in each class. These rewards consisting of small medals, are conferred with such solemnity, as cannot fail of producing great effect. A yearly meeting of all the magistrates, professors, and principal inhabitants, is held at the cathedral, when the first syndic himself distributes, in the most public manner, the honorary retributions. I met this morning one of the scholars, and, seeing his medal, inquired its meaning? "*Je la porte,*" replied the boy, scarcely eight years old, "*parce que j'ai fait mon devoir.*" I required no stronger proof to convince me of the beneficial influence upon young minds, from these encouraging and judicious distinctions, than appeared from this sprightly specimen.

The citizens enjoy the advantage also of having free access to the public library; and by this privilege, they not only retain but improve that general tincture of learning which they imbibe in their early youth.

The public library owes its origin to Bonnivard, prior of St. Victor, who was twice ² imprisoned

² See above vol. II. let. 43.

for having asserted, against the dukes of Savoy, the independence of Geneva; and who considered the hardships he had suffered, and the perils he had escaped, as ties that endeared him more strongly to a city, which he had adopted as his own. He was a principal promoter of the reformation by gentle means and gradual instruction. He closed his benefactions to his beloved city by the gift of his valuable manuscripts and books, and by bequeathing his fortune towards the establishment and support of the seminary. His works, which chiefly relate to the history of Geneva, are preserved with that care and reverence, which are due to so eminent a benefactor.

The library contains 25,000 volumes and many curious manuscripts, of which an accurate and learned catalogue has been lately published by the Rev. Mr. Senebier the librarian. He has attempted to determine the ages of the several manuscripts; he describes their form and size, the materials on which they are written, the ornaments, the characteristic phrases, and mentions the proofs on which he grounds his opinions. He adds also the notes, and distinguishes those which have never been printed.

M. Senebier has also favored the world with *Histoire Littéraire de Geneve*, accompanied with biographical anecdotes of those natives, who have been celebrated for their learning. As I should trespass too much upon your time, if I were to attempt sending you an account of the principal men of letters in Geneva, I shall confine myself to those only, with whom I am personally acquainted.

Charles Bonnet was born in 1720. His life has been devoted to the pursuits of literature, and to

the improvement of philosophy and science. He has proved by his publications, that his indefatigable industry in searching into the phenomena of the creation, is equalled only by his ingenuity in explaining them. His works, printed at Neuchâtel, form nine volumes in quarto, or eighteen in octavo, and contain divers subjects of natural history, many accurate observations on insects, on the vegetation of plants, on the use of leaves in plants, considerations on organized bodies, and the contemplations of nature.

By several treatises, and particularly his Analytical Essay on the Faculties of the Soul, he has shown himself an acute metaphysician. Like his friend Haller, he has also stood forth an able advocate for the great principles of natural and revealed religion. His ³ Philosophical Researches on Christianity, and his treatise on the Existence of God, prove, that an intimate knowledge of nature necessarily tends to establish a rational belief of those great truths.

I had frequent opportunities of conversing with this respectable philosopher: though now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, he possesses an uncommon degree of vivacity and animation, still retains his enthusiasm for the pursuits of science, and speaks with the same perspicuity and elegance as are observable in his writings.

I was no less ambitious of being known to his nephew Mr. de Saussure. Born in 1740; he was elected professor of philosophy in 1762; and has

³ A translation of his *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Preuves du Christianisme*, has been lately given to the public, by John Lewis Boissier, Esq. under the title of "Philosophical and Critical Inquiries concerning Christianity."

given to the public the following specimens of his indefatigable industry, and of the versatility of his talents: various remarks and experiments on microscopic animals; observations on electricity; on basaltic lavas and volcanic productions; on the physical geography of Italy. He has invented an instrument for measuring the degrees of magnetic force; and so much improved the electrometer of Cavallo, that it may be almost considered as a new instrument. But above all, his invention of the hair-hygrometer, or an instrument for measuring the moisture of the atmosphere, has enabled him to make many theoretical and experimental researches that are detailed in his *Essai sur l'Hygromètre*. And although a controversy is now subsisting between him and M. de Luc, concerning the propriety of hair as an instrument for this purpose; yet it cannot depreciate this invention; and new lights must be thrown on that subject by the opposition of two such able naturalists.

His *Voyages dans les Alpes*, of which two volumes in quarto have already made their appearance, treat of the physical geography of the alps, the formation of mountains, the origin of the glaciers, and various phenomena of nature, which peculiarly distinguish Switzerland. Unlike some philosophers of the present age, who from their cabinet, and with no other knowledge of the earth than what is acquired by books, peremptorily and presumptuously decide on the theory of the globe, this indefatigable observer draws from repeated travels, and incessant experience, a fund of facts, which may enable him to complete the great design and object of all his researches, that of establishing a more perfect theory of the earth.

The cabinet of M. de Saussure is an object worthy of the traveller's curiosity. It contains a collection of foreign and Swiss butterflies; various petrifications and fossils, more particularly a large variety of basalts and volcanic productions; numerous specimens of granites and other primitive stones; which he has collected during his various expeditions, and from parts which have been only visited by himself.

Mr. de Saussure has lately resigned the professorship of experimental philosophy, and is succeeded by my very worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Pictet Turretini, who has already distinguished himself by various publications, which elucidate several important branches of experimental philosophy.

Paul Henry Mallet, born at Geneva in 1730, passed the earlier part of his life at Copenhagen as preceptor to the present king, Christian the Sixth. His introduction to the history of Denmark, under the title of Northern Antiquities, proves him a profound and accurate antiquarian; and his histories of Hesse, Brunswic, and Denmark, show him no less eminent as an historian. I should on this occasion be unmindful of the honor conferred on me, if I omitted to mention, that his latest work is a translation of my Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, to which he has added many remarks, and a Journey into Norway.

Mr. de Luc, reader to the queen of Great Britain, and resident in England, is also a native of Geneva. He was born in 1727, and published, in 1772, his celebrated work on the modification of the atmosphere, and on the theory

of barometers and thermometers: a performance which marks a distinguished era in the history of experimental philosophy, and which we are happy to find he is still carrying on under the title of *Idées sur la Météorologie*. But in his *Letters Physiques et Morales, sur l'Histoire, de la Terre et de l'Homme*, Mr. de Luc appears to singular advantage. In this extraordinary performance, he has displayed a most extensive knowledge of nature, and has applied it with great sagacity in forming a new theory of the earth, and in a happy accommodation of his hypothesis to the Mosaic account of the creation.

The cabinet of Mr. de Luc is not only remarkable for the number and rarity of many specimens; but more particularly claims the attention of the naturalist, as a systematic collection, tending to illustrate his theory of the globe. With this view it may be divided into three principal parts. The first part contains petrifications and fossils; the second, the collection of stones; and the third, lavas and volcanic productions.

The first part is arranged in such a manner, under three distinct heads, as may enable the naturalist, 1. to compare the petrifications of animals and vegetables with the same bodies, which are still known to exist in our parts of the globe; 2. to compare those petrifications of animals and vegetables with the same bodies which are known to exist in distant countries; 3. to consider the petrifications of those bodies which are no longer known to exist.

The second part comprehends the stones under three points of view; 1. those of the primitive mountains, which contain no animal bodies;

2. those of the secondary mountains, which contain only marine bodies; 3. those which contain terrestrial bodies.

In the third part, the lavas and other volcanic productions are distinguished into, 1. those from volcanos now in a burning state; 2. those from extinct volcanos.

I am, &c.

LETTER 64.

Government of Geneva in 1776.

THE city of Geneva and its territory were formerly united to the German empire, under the successors of Charlemagne: but as the power of the emperors, feeble even in Germany, was still weaker in the frontier provinces, the bishops of Geneva, like several other great vassals of the empire, gradually acquired very considerable authority over the city and its domains; which the emperor had no other means of counterbalancing, than by increasing the liberties of the people. During these times of confusion, constant disputes subsisted between the bishops and the counts of the Genevois; for, the latter, although at their first institution merely officers of the emperor, and considered as vassals of the bishops, yet claimed and asserted a right to the exclusive administration of justice. The citizens took advantage of these quarrels, and, by siding occasionally with each party, obtained an extension of their privileges from both.

But the house of Savoy having purchased the Genevois, and succeeded to all the prerogatives of the counts, with additional power; the bishops and the people firmly united, in order to oppose encroachments, which were no less prejudicial to the authority of the one, than to the liberties of the others. During this period, the respective pretensions of the count, bishops, and citizens, were so various, as to form a government equally singular and complicated. The harmony, however, between the bishops and citizens, was at length broken by the artful management of the counts of Savoy, who had the address to procure the episcopal see for their brothers, and even for their illegitimate children. By these methods, their power in the city became so enlarged, that, towards the commencement of the sixteenth century, Charles the Third, duke of Savoy, (although the form of government was entirely republican) obtained an almost absolute authority over the citizens, and exercised it in the most unjust and arbitrary manner. Hence arose perpetual struggles between the duke and the citizens; the latter continually opposing, either by open violence, or secret measures, his tyrannical usurpation: thus two parties were formed; the zealots for liberty were called *eidgenossen*, or confederates; while the partisans of the duke were branded with the appellation of *mammelucs*, or slaves.

The treaty of alliance, which the town contracted with Berne and Friburgh, in 1526, may be considered as the true era of its liberty and independence: for, not long after, the duke was deprived of his authority; the bishop driven from

the city; a republican form of government established, and the reformation introduced. From this time, Charles and his successors waged incessant war against the town: but his hostilities were rendered ineffectual, by the intrepid bravery of the citizens, and the assistance of Berne.

In 1584 Geneva concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance with Zurich and Berne, by which it is allied with the Swiss cantons.

The last attempt of the House of Savoy against Geneva, was in 1602; when Charles Emanuel treacherously attacked the town during a profound peace. Two hundred soldiers scaled the walls in the night, while the inhabitants were reposed in unsuspecting security; but being timely discovered, were repulsed by the desperate valor of a few citizens, who gloriously sacrificed their lives in defence of the liberties of their country. As a tribute of public gratitude for their glorious resistance, these brave Genevans were buried with great pomp, and their names are recorded on a sepulchral stone. In memory of this event, some of the scaling-ladders, by which the enemy entered the town, are preserved in the arsenal; and also the petard, which was fastened to one of the gates, when the gunner was killed before it could be discharged. The war occasioned by this perfidy was concluded in the following year by a solemn treaty: since that period, uninterrupted peace has been maintained between the house of Savoy and Geneva; although the king of Sardinia did not formally acknowledge, till 1754, the independence of the republic.

No sooner was peace concluded with the House of Savoy, than the flames of internal discord, so

apt to kindle in popular governments, and which had been smothered by their common danger from a foreign enemy, began to appear. During the greatest part of the last century, to the present period, the history of Geneva contains little more than a narrative of contentions between the aristocratical and the popular parties. These mutual struggles have been occasionally exerted with so much violence and animosity, as to threaten, for a moment, a total revolution in the state; but, happily, they have been hitherto compromised without producing any fatal effects ⁴.

About the beginning of the present century, the power of the Great Council was become almost absolute. In order to restrain its authority, the popular party, in 1707, procured an edict, that every five years a general council of the citizens and burghers should be summoned, to deliberate upon the affairs of the republic. Agreeably to this law, a general assembly was convened in 1712; and the very first act exerted by the people in this their collective capacity, was the abolition of the above-mentioned edict.

An event of so singular a nature, can hardly be accounted for upon the general principle of popular fickleness and inconsistency: accordingly Rousseau, in his *Lettres écrites de la Montagne*, imputes it to the artifices of the magistrates; and to the equivocal terms marked upon the billets then in use. For, the question proposed to the people being, “Whether the opinion of the
“councils,

⁴ The reader will recollect that this letter was written in 1776, before the late Revolution of 1782, which is related in the subsequent letter.

“councils, for abolishing the periodical general assemblies, should pass into a law?” the words employed on the billets delivered for that purpose, were, *approbation*, *rejection*; so that whichever side was taken, it came to the same point. If the billet of *approbation* was chosen, the opinion of the councils which rejected the periodical assembly, was approved; if that of *rejection*, then the periodical assembly was rejected of course. Accordingly, several of the citizens afterwards complained that they had been deceived, as they never meant to reject the general assembly, but only the opinion of the councils⁵.

In consequence of this extraordinary repeal, the power of the aristocracy continued increasing till within these few years; when the citizens, by a singular conjunction of favorable circumstances, joined to an uncommon spirit of union and perseverance, have procured several changes in the constitution of Geneva; by which the authority of the magistrates has been limited, and the rights of the people enlarged. Happy! if they know where to stop; lest, continuing to extend the bounds of their own privileges, they shake the foundations of civil government, by too much restraining the power of the magistrates.

The present constitution of Geneva, may be considered as a mean between that of the aristocratical and popular cantons: more democratical than any of the former, inasmuch as the sovereign and legislative authority entirely resides in the general assembly of the citizens; and more aristocratical than the latter, because the powers

⁵ Miscellaneous Works of Rousseau, Vol. iv. p. 279.

vested in the Great and Little Councils are very considerable.

The members of the Senate, or Little Council of twenty-five, enjoy, in their corporate capacity, several prerogatives almost as great as those which are possessed by that of the most aristocratical states. They nominate half the members of the Great Council, supply the principal magistrates from their own body, convoke the Great Council and the General Council, and previously deliberate upon every question which is to be brought before these councils: in other words, in them is lodged the power of proposing; consequently, as every act must originate from them, no law can pass without their approbation. In this senate is vested also the chief executive power; the administration of the finances; and, to a certain degree, jurisdiction in civil and criminal causes. They nominate, likewise, to most of the smaller posts of government; and enjoy the sole privilege of conferring the burghership. They compose, moreover, in conjunction with thirty-five members of their own choosing, the Secret Council, which never assembles but by their convoking, and only upon extraordinary occasions.

These considerable prerogatives, however, are counterbalanced as well by the privileges of the Great Council, as by the franchises of the General Council. The privileges of the former consist in choosing the members of the senate from their own body; in receiving appeals in all causes above a certain value; in pardoning criminals; in disposing of the most important charges of government, those excepted which are conferred by the General Council; and in approving or rejecting

whatever is proposed by the Senate to be laid before the people.

The General Council, or assembly of the people, is composed of the citizens and burghers of the town: their number, in general, amounts to about 1,500, but seldom more than 1,200 meet at the same time; the remainder being either settled in foreign countries, or usually absent. I ought to have explained to you sooner, the distinction between *citizens* and *burghers*: the latter, are either the sons of citizens or burghers⁶, born out of Geneva, or have obtained the burghership by purchase; the former, are the sons of citizens or burghers, born within the town of Geneva. The burghers may be chosen into the council of two hundred, but the citizens alone can enter into the Senate, and possess the charges appropriated to that body.

The General Council meets twice a year, chooses the principal magistrates, assents to, or rejects, the laws and regulations proposed by the councils, imposes taxes, contracts alliances, declares war or peace, and nominates half of the members in the Great Council. All questions are decided by the majority of voices; and each member delivers his vote without having the liberty of debating. The restriction is certainly reasonable; for, in a popular assembly, like this of Geneva, composed of citizens, the meanest of whom is well versed in the constitution of the commonwealth, and where the people in general have a strong propensity to enter into political

⁶ The children of those who are employed in foreign countries, in the service of the state, although born out of Geneva, are entitled to all the privileges of citizens.

discussions; if every voter was permitted to support and enforce his opinion by argument, there would be no end of debate, and the whole time would be consumed in petulant declamation.

But the principal check to the power of the Senate, arises from the right of *re-election*, or the power of annually expelling four members from the Senate at the nomination of the syndics, and from the privilege of *representation*. The right of re-election may be exercised in the following manner: the four syndics, or chiefs of the republic, are chosen annually out of the Senate by the General Council; and there must be an interval of three years before the same members can be again appointed. The usual mode of election is as follows: — The Senate nominates from its own body eight candidates, who must be approved by the Great Council; and out of these eight, the members of the General Council chuse the four syndics. They have it in their power, however, not only to reject these eight candidates, but also all the other senators successively: and in that case, four members of the Senate retire into the Great Council, and an equal number of the last-mentioned body occupy the places of the degraded senators.

With respect to the second restraint I mentioned upon the power of the Senate, the right of *representation*; every citizen or burgher has the privilege of applying to the Senate in order to procure a new regulation, or of remonstrating against any act of the magistracy. These representations have, perhaps, proved one of the principal means of securing the liberties of the people from the respective encroachments of the two

councils; as they have frequently prevented the magistrates from stretching their authority to the same extent that has been practised in some other commonwealths of Switzerland. The magistrates are obliged to give an explicit answer to these representations; for, if the first is not considered as satisfactory, a second remonstrance is presented. According to the nature and importance of the complaint, the representation is made by a greater or less number of citizens, and it has sometimes happened, that each remonstrance has been accompanied by several hundred, in different bodies.

The salaries of the magistrates are so inconsiderable, as not to offer any temptation on the side of pecuniary emolument: a sense of honor, a spirit of ambition, the desire of serving their country, together with that personal credit which is derived from exercising any office in the administration, are the principal motives which actuate the candidates to solicit a share in the magistracy. Accordingly, the public posts are generally filled with men of the first abilities, and of the most respectable characters. The revenues of government, at the highest calculation, scarcely amount to 30,000 pounds a year; a sum, however, which, by a well-regulated œconomy, is more than sufficient to defray the current expenses: so that this republic is enabled to provide for the security of its subjects, from an income which some individuals, in other countries, squander in pomp and dissipation.

It is very remarkable that, in a republic so free as this of Geneva, and where the true principles of liberty are so well and so generally understood, there should be no precise code of penal laws:

for, although the form of the prosecution is settled, yet the trial of the criminal is private, and the punishment left to the decision of the magistrate. Nor are the franchises of the people ascertained with that accuracy which might be expected. Indeed, under Ademar Fabri, bishop of Geneva in the fourteenth century, a certain number of political regulations, both civil and criminal, together with several particular customs and franchises, were drawn up in form; and the bishop took an oath to observe them. These statutes, if they may be so called, were also confirmed by Amadeus the eighth, duke of Savoy. This code, to which the people appeal in all cases of controversy, is compiled in a very inaccurate and confused manner, and the magistrates refuse to submit to its authority, because it was published before the independence of the republic was confirmed. The people have repeatedly demanded a precise code of municipal and penal laws, so express and determinate, as to prevent the arbitrary decision of the magistrate; and although such a code was ordered to be compiled in 1738 and 1768, yet its compilation has been hitherto deferred.

The code of civil law is the most perfect part of the constitution; all matters concerning commerce being well regulated, and private property securely guarded. It is unnecessary to trouble you with a particular detail of the sumptuary laws, which are much the same as those in most of the other states of Switzerland, where restrictions of that kind are enforced. But there is one law, relating to bankrupts, too singularly severe not to be mentioned. If a member of either council

becomes a bankrupt, he is immediately degraded; and from that moment is rendered incapable of holding any post under government, until he shall have discharged all the just demands of his creditors: even his children are subjected to the same disgrace; and no citizen can exercise any public employment, while the debts of his father remain unpaid.

In this city, as in all the other principal towns of Switzerland, a public granary is established. Magazines of this kind, useful in all states, are more particularly necessary in so populous a place as Geneva, which, if the neighbouring powers were to prohibit the importation of corn, might be exposed to the horrors of famine. This corn is dried by means of machines well contrived for that purpose, and retailed to the innkeepers and bakers: a considerable profit accrues to government; and there is always, in case of necessity, a sufficient quantity in reserve to support the inhabitants during a year and a half.

Geneva is strongly fortified on the side of Savoy, and a garrison constantly maintained; but these fortifications, and this garrison, are only sufficient to guard them from any sudden attack; but could not be defended long against a regular siege. The great security of the republic consists in its alliance with the Swiss cantons, by means of Zurich and Berne: and, as it is the interest both of the kings of France and Sardinia to be in friendship with the Swiss, and to preserve the independence of Geneva; it derives its greatest security from a circumstance which in some cases, would be the source of danger: namely, that its territory borders upon the dominions of such powerful neighbours.

Geneva is the only republic in Switzerland, which has no regular companies in any foreign service; wisely prohibiting the inlisting of mercenaries in every part of its territory.

I am, &c.

LETTER 65.

Account of the late Revolution at Geneva. — Origin and Progress of the intestine Troubles. — Siege and Surrender of the Town. — Changes in the Form of Government. — Emigration. — Project for a Genevan Settlement in Ireland — relinquished.

HAVING in a former letter sketched the general history of Geneva, and described the form of government existing in 1776; I shall now give an account of the late troubles, and relate the changes of the constitution in 1782. In this narrative, instead of entering into the altercations of party, I shall endeavour to develop the principal causes which excited the people to take arms, to imprison several of the magistrates, and, at length, to surrender the town, at the moment when they seemed most determined to defend it to the last extremity.

By the edict of 1768, tranquillity was, apparently, restored to Geneva, and several alterations were introduced into the ancient constitution. By these changes, however, the intestine troubles were only smothered, but not extinguished. The

Negatives, or aristocratical party, discontented at the right of re-election extorted from them in 1768, which they considered as a species of ostracism, were ready to seize the first opportunity of obtaining its abolition; while the *Representants*, or partisans of the people, were inclined to push their advantages to the utmost, and to secure their victory by too precipitate an exercise of this new privilege.

The project for the compilation of a new code of laws, which, although ordered by the edicts of 1738 and 1768, had been hitherto delayed under various pretences, was another cause of misunderstanding between the two parties, and was the immediate occasion of the succeeding troubles. Many reasons induced the *Negatives* to oppose its compilation.

First; An accurate statement of the customs and usages would considerably diminish their prerogatives, by abridging the great discretionary powers, which the want of a precise code must necessarily intrust to the will of the magistrates. — Secondly; As, in order to furnish materials for such a work, it became absolutely necessary to search into the ancient archives; it was surmised, that many titles would be exposed to the public eye, which would favor the pretensions of the House of Savoy; and that others would be brought forward by the democratical party, in order to justify farther encroachments. The *Representants*, however, continued to demand the compilation of a new code; and at length, in January 1777, forced the *Negatives* to consent to their demand, by excluding, according to their right of *re-election*, four members from the Senate or little Council.

In consequence of this measure, a committee, for the purpose of forming a code of laws, was appointed by the concurrence of the Little, Great, and General Councils. This committee was to exist two years; and the code was to be laid before the three Councils, for their joint approbation or rejection.

At length, on the first of September 1779, the committee submitted a sketch of the first part of this code to the Little and Great Councils, in order to profit by their observations, before it was presented to the General Council. Many articles, however, being considered by the Negatives as too democratical, met with great opposition: the Senate proposed to the Great Council, that the Committee should be prorogued for the purpose of amending the code; but the Negatives, who formed the majority, decided, that the code should not be accepted, and that the committee should be dissolved.

This measure was violently reprobated by one party as unconstitutional, and supported as warmly by the other. By the former it was argued, that the Great Council exceeded its powers; because the Little Council having laid before the Great Council the question, "Whether the powers of the committee should be prolonged?" the latter, instead of deciding that point, and *that* only; had determined, "that the code itself should not be accepted." — The popular party considered this mode of proceeding as an evident breach of the constitution: for it was argued, that the Senate alone has the power of proposing, and the Great Council the privilege of approving or rejecting the motion, and not that of amending or altering it.

Further, it was urged, that as the committee had been appointed conjointly by the three Councils, and the code was to be submitted to their approbation or rejection; the Great Council did not possess the right of cancelling the code, although they had that of dissolving the committee.

To these objections the Negatives answered, that the Great Council did not dissolve the committee; because, being appointed only for two years, it ceased of course at the expiration of that term; and that as to the necessity of submitting the approbation or rejection of the code proposed by the committee to the three Councils, it might be urged, that the Little and Great Councils had the sole prerogative of framing a new code, and of laying it before the General Council; that they had acted inconsistently in permitting that Council to have any share in appointing the committee; and, therefore, that they now only used their prerogative in resuming those powers which they had unwarily granted to others.

Many persons, however, were of opinion, that although the Little and Great Councils possessed the undoubted right of proposing to the General Council; yet, as they had once admitted that Council to a share in appointing⁷ the committee, they were imprudent in rejecting the code by their own authority; and ought, at the expiration of

⁷ Strictly speaking, the names of the commissioners were not laid before the General Council; but simply the proposal of appointing a committee. The commissioners were privately settled by the two parties; and the burghers acceded to the proposition in general terms, as they previously knew, that the commissioners were mostly favorable to the popular party.

two years, to have nominated, conjointly with the burghers, a new committee, for the purposes of compiling a code of laws, according to the edicts of 1738 and 1768.

In consequence of these disputes, the body of citizens remonstrating against this act of the Great Council, that assembly offered to undertake the compilation of the code; and to submit it to the public examination. The opposite party considering this offer as insidious, many debates took place, and various negotiations were carried on between the two parties, which only served to widen rather than heal the dissensions. At length the *Negatives*, considering the public tranquillity as endangered, appealed to their guarantees, France, Zurich, and Berne, and entreated them to protect the laws and constitution. But this appeal had no other effect than to heighten the distrust and suspicion of both parties. In this crisis of affairs, the *Negatives* redoubled their efforts to strengthen themselves by the accession of the natives, and to spread the seeds of jealousy between the latter and the citizens.

The natives, sons of the inhabitants, who had purchased the right of settling at Geneva, formed a numerous body, discontented and jealous of many exclusive privileges enjoyed by the citizens, and inflamed with resentment against them, for having, in 1770, banished eight of the principal natives, who, pretending, that the rights of the burghership belonged to the natives as well as to the citizens, demanded, that instead of being purchased, it should be gratuitously conferred. With a view of acquiring so considerable an accession to their own party, the *Negatives* courted the

natives by careſſes, ſubſidies, and entertainments, and iſſued a public declaration, that they were ready to confer upon them thoſe privileges of trade and commerce, which, had been hitherto excluſively confined to the citizens.

The count of Vergennes alſo openly favored the deſign of the Negatives, and even wrote diſpatches to the reſident of France at Geneva in order to be communicated to the principal natives, who ſided with the Negatives. Theſe diſpatches contained the higheſt expreſſions of approbation, and ſtrongly recommended them to perſevere in their attachment to that party. The attorney general conceiving this interference contrary to the eſtabliſhed mode of proceeding, which required, that all diſpatches from a foreign miniſter ſhould paſs through the hands of government, delivered to the Great Council a ſpirited remonſtrance, diſplaying the danger which reſulted from a private correſpondence between the court of France and the natives. He artfully, indeed, ſurmized, that the report of the diſpatch from the French miniſter to the natives, was falſe and inſidious, and calculated to raiſe a miſunderſtanding between that power and the republic; and even advanced ſeveral arguments, which tended to prove the impoſſibility, that ſuch an extraordinary correſpondence could have been maintained.

The irony and ſpirit of this remonſtrance were ſo offensive to the count of Vergennes, that he inſtantly obtained the depoſition of the attorney general; and this public ſtep in favor of the Negatives conſiderably increaſed their party among the natives.

In order to counterbalance the offers of the Negatives and the favor of France, the Representatives manifested the most generous intentions in behalf of the natives; and even promised, what they had hitherto reprobated in the strongest manner, to facilitate the acquisition of the burghership, and to bestow it as the recompence of industry and good behaviour.

Thus the two parties striving who should offer the highest terms, two factions were formed among the natives; and it was easy to foresee, that the first opportunity of recurring to force would be seized by the populace; many of whom had nothing to lose, and much to gain in times of tumult and confusion.

In effect, such an opportunity presented itself on the 5th of February 1781; when a particular quarrel brought on a general rising. Two neighbouring and opposite parties of natives, casually disputing, loaded each other with virulent reproaches; and from reproaches would have immediately proceeded to an assault, if the Syndics on one side, and the chiefs of the Representatives on the other, had not quelled, by their presence, the rising tumult. The populace assembled on the occasion began to disperse; when a discharge of musketry was heard from the arsenal. Several youths, who sided with the Negatives, having taken possession of the arsenal, had fired⁸, by mistake, on some natives of their own party, killed one of them and wounded another. This discharge was considered by the Representatives as

⁸ It is but justice to the Negatives to add, that, according to the opinion of some, this first insurrection was concerted, and the Representatives fired first.

the signal of a general insurrection. They instantly took arms, and marched, in three columns, to the arsenal; where, finding only a few young men, who had rashly fired without orders, they prudently restrained their resentment, and permitted the others to retire without molestation. They then continued under arms, and occupied the principal avenues of the city.

The next morning the committee of the Representatives being summoned by the natives to fulfil their promises of granting additional privileges, and particularly of gratuitously conferring the burghership, held several meetings with the principal Negatives on that subject, but without success: for the latter, while they readily consented to the request of the natives respecting the augmentation of their commercial privileges, positively refused to facilitate the acquisition of the burghership.

Notwithstanding this refusal, the committee, embarrassed and alarmed at the number and threats of the natives, determined to abide by their promises, drew up an edict, which permitted the natives to carry on trade, and to hold the rank of officers in the military associations; and conferred the burghership on more than a hundred persons, taken from the natives and inhabitants, and even from the peasants of the territory. This edict was laid before and approved by the three Councils; the Negatives absenting themselves on this occasion from their apprehensions of the popular party, who had made themselves masters of the city. By this measure the Representatives esteemed themselves secure of having inviolably attached the natives to their interest, and concluded,

that nothing more remained than to enjoy the fruits of their victory. Affairs, however, turned out otherwise; deputies being dispatched from Zurich and Berne in order to mediate between the rival parties, prevailed on the Representatives to lay down their arms; and before their departure declared the edict in favor of the natives to be null and illegal. And when the question for executing that edict was laid before the Senate, it was repeatedly carried in the negative, under the just pretence, that the mediating powers had declared it to be illegal; that while the city was in the power of the Representatives who were under arms, none of the members could venture to oppose it; and that therefore their assent, which had been extorted by fear, was absolutely null.

Inflamed by this refusal, the opposite party tendered, on the 18th of march 1782, another representation, in which they again summoned the magistrates to confirm the edict. The answer, expected with the most extreme impatience, was at length returned on Sunday the 17th of April, and concluded with saying, "Government is neither willing nor able to ratify the edict."

Although the committee endeavoured first to conceal, and when that was impossible, to soften and palliate its contents, yet the generality of the natives, who found themselves excluded from the favorite object of their wishes, at the moment when they seemed most secure of obtaining it, crowded tumultuously in different parts of the city; repeating, one after the other, in a kind of frenzy, "Government is neither able nor willing to ratify the edict." As these cries of despair were followed by the most violent menaces; the popular chiefs, after

after several vain attempts to restrain the rising commotions, acquainted the magistrates with the general indignation; and endeavoured, though without success, to persuade them to recal or mollify their fatal answer. Mean while, night approached, ever favorable to tumults and insurrections, and brought on the crisis which ruined the republic.

Some of the lowest populace having set fire to a wooden barrac, cried out, "to arms;" on which signal the natives assembled in a tumultuous manner, and were joined by the most violent Representatives. The most moderate among the citizens, well convinced, that the fire was only a pretext, and that such an ill-timed insurrection would greatly prejudice their cause, dispersed themselves in various quarters of the town, and tried to prevail on the mob to retire; but without effect. Many were wantonly insulted; and a party, in attempting to secure one of the gates, having fired on the garrison who resisted, it became absolutely necessary for the citizens either to abandon the natives, or to join them in the insurrection. Having hastily adopted the latter measure, the officers of the popular party made their appearance, took possession of the town, and appeased the tumult. At length, after various unsuccessful negotiations to prevail on the Negatives to ratify the edict, the popular party arrested and confined a few of the magistrates and the principal Negatives; and the chiefs of the Representatives, apprehensive that an immediate appeal to France would be the first consequence of their liberty, detained them in prison as hostages for their farther security.

As this arrest and imprisonment of the principal magistrates appeared a measure as daring and atrocious as contradictory to sound policy; it may be proper to consider on what principles the Representatives acted, and by what arguments they defended their conduct. For this purpose it will be necessary to view the political situation of Geneva in the moment of this insurrection, with respect to the neighbouring states, and particularly in relation to France, of whose assistance the aristocratical party was secure, as soon as that power could interfere with effect and propriety.

The act by which France, Zurich, and Berne guaranteed the constitution of Geneva, as new-modelled in 1768, was no longer in force; a circumstance highly unfavorable to the popular party. For, as by this act, the king of France could not publicly interfere in the affairs of Geneva, except in concert with Zurich and Berne, he had only one voice; and consequently could not effectuate any change in the government, provided those two cantons were united against him. These shackles being highly displeasing both to the court of Versailles, and to the Negatives, who were protected by that court, the count of Vergennes, by a letter written on the 28th of September 1781, declared to the cantons of Zurich and Berne, that Louis the Sixteenth renounced the guarantee, because they had refused to enter into views for the purpose of restoring peace to Geneva; and in a dispatch to the Senate, bearing the same date, and to the same effect, he added, that the king, in renouncing the guarantee, did not withhold his protection from the commonwealth; but still reserved to himself the power of punishing the

disturbers of public tranquillity, and of supporting the constitution. The greatest number of the Representatives weakly rejoiced at this measure, from an idle persuasion, that the minister, fatigued with their trifling disputes, and despairing to overcome the perseverance of the citizens, abandoned them to themselves; and, thus in the very act which inevitably prepared subjection, imagined, that they saw the first gleam of absolute independence.

Soon after this renunciation, Mr. de Vergennes ordered a regiment to march into the land of Gex, which borders on the territory of Geneva; and the troops were still quartered on the frontiers, when the refusal of the Senate to confirm the edict gave rise to the insurrection. In this situation, the popular leaders argued, that for a long time a pretext had been wanted to appeal to Versailles; and it was now found: they dreaded every moment to see the French troops at the gates of the town; they thought it therefore most advisable to arrest and confine the magistrates, in order to intimidate them from calling in the succours of France, and to render them responsible for the public security.

Won over by these specious arguments, the body of citizens continued to act as if their power was likely to be permanent. They deposed several members of the Great and Little Councils, and appointed in their place an equal number of persons who were favorable to the cause of the Representatives. The great Council thus new-modelled, executed the edict for conferring the burghership on the stipulated number of natives; and appointed a committee of safety, composed of eleven members, with very considerable authority.

This committee entirely re-established public tranquillity, ordered the fortifications of the town to be repaired, and inspired the people with the most dangerous confidence in their own strength.

Zuric and Berne, on the first news of the late insurrection, interdicted their subjects from all intercourse with a government founded on usurpation and violence, and strenuously advised the Syndics to exhort the citizens to an immediate restoration of the legal constitution: a moment's delay, they urged, would be inevitable ruin. A few days afterwards the French minister returned unopened the dispatches of the new Senate, and reminded the citizens of the king's solemn engagement to support the oppressed, and to protect the ancient form of government. The citizens of Geneva, though thus deserted by their allies, were deaf to all admonitions, idly appealed to the justice of their cause, and disclaimed all overtures of accommodation except on their own terms.

During two months the citizens and natives, apparently secure within their ramparts, convinced either, that France durst not venture to attack them, or that the prisoners would be the immediate victims of such an attempt, and that they should be able to make a long and glorious resistance, would not even listen to any proposal of re-establishing the deposed magistrates; and could not be prevailed upon to sacrifice a part of their privileges, and particularly the right of re-election, for the security of the remainder.

At length, the storm gathering from all quarters, slowly approached, and hovered over the town. The king of Sardinia and the canton of Berne, both seconding the views of France,

dispatched troops against Geneva; and their respective generals, Messrs. de la Marmora and Lentulus, were ordered to act in concert with the French commander Mr. de Jaucourt, who had advanced to the frontiers at the head of a considerable detachment.

Nothing occasioned more surprise and indignation than the junction of Sardinia and Berne with the King of France; and yet no measure was more consonant to the views of those two powers.

The Sardinian monarch was interested in the preservation of a town, which is the chief source of industry and wealth to his subjects of Savoy; and whose intestine troubles had already caused a diminution of his revenue: and as he could not in common policy permit the French to increase their influence in these parts, and to quell, without his interference, the commotions of Geneva, he *voluntarily* tendered his assistance towards the accomplishment of so beneficial a purpose.

The Canton of Berne, desirous to prevent the interposition of foreign powers in the affairs of Switzerland, used, in a letter to the Syndics, the following exhortations. “Redouble your efforts
“with your fellow-citizens; and exert yourselves
“in order to compose the unhappy differences,
“which must infallibly terminate in the destruction of the republic. A speedy re-establishment of the legal government will restore to
“them their faithful allies, who are anxious to
“employ their good offices in behalf of the state.” But when these well-timed admonitions proved ineffectual, and the perseverance of the citizens had drawn upon them the resentment of France and Sardinia; Berne could not tamely behold two

such powers thus interfering in a crisis so important to her own particular welfare, and to the general interests of the Helvetic union; and, as Zurich had prudently declined to take an active part against her ancient ally, stood forth with that firmness and decision which characterize all her councils, and joined her forces to the confederate armies of France and Sardinia.

Notwithstanding this powerful combination, and even in the midst of these threatening appearances, the Genevans continued to repair the ramparts with indefatigable ardor. The peasants of the territory flocked of their own accord, and without pay, to mount guard, and to work at the fortifications; women, of all ranks, crowded to the ramparts, as to a place of public amusement; encouraging and animating the men to persevere in their labor, and some even sharing in their fatigue assisted in transporting burdens, or in planting cannon on the bastions. In the midst of this almost universal confidence, a few prudent persons, who foresaw the impossibility of resistance, sighed in secret; but were obliged to disguise their real sentiments, and could not venture in public but with an air of hope, serenity, and fortitude.

Mean while the besiegers advancing on all sides, the three commanders held frequent consultations, and formed a general plan of attack. At length, on the 29th of June 1782, Mr. de Jaucourt dispatched a message to the Syndics; in which, after expatiating on the disinterested intentions of the king his master, and protesting that he respected the independence of the republic, and was only desirous of introducing good order, he added,

that if they would not admit his troops, and accept the following preliminaries of peace, he must force his way into the town. Among other conditions, he exacted, that no person should appear in the streets, under pain of military punishment; that a certain number of citizens, among whom were all the chiefs of the Representatives, should in twenty-four hours retire from Geneva; that all arms should be delivered to the three generals; that the deposed magistrates should be instantly re-established; and that a final answer should be returned in two hours. The generals Lentulus and de la Marmora respectively insisted on the same conditions.

It is impossible to express the rage, indignation, and despair, which these humiliating conditions excited at Geneva. Without the least deliberation every person resolved to perish rather than accept them; and the moment of danger had no other effect than to animate and rouse the courage of the besieged. While they hurried to the ramparts, and were preparing for resistance, the Syndics secretly obtained from the three generals a delay of twenty-four hours. In this interval not only the men of all ages prepared for defence; but even women and children tore the pavement from the streets, and carried the stones to the tops of the houses, in order to roll them down upon the enemy, in case they should force their way into the town.

Such was the general ardor; that about eighty women and girls, dressed in uniforms, offered to form themselves into a company, for the purpose of defending their country. The committee of safety accepted their services, and placed them in a

barrac, which by its situation was covered from the cannon of the besiegers. These amazons, with a spirit above their sex, refused a station that was not sufficiently exposed; and, as the town soon afterwards surrendered, they had no opportunity of proving their patriotism by a display of their valor.

All these various signs of the most determined resolution, flowing unanimously from every rank, age, and sex, alarmed the Negatives, who never had suspected, that the people would carry matters to such desperate extremities. Accordingly, their partisans conferred with the most moderate among the Representatives, in order to find some means of reconciliation; but without success.

At length the fatal hour arrived, in which the answer was to be returned: it was to expire at ten on Sunday morning; and at the first beat of the drum the ramparts were covered with defenders. Although the most zealous had only calculated on 3000, above 5000 made their appearance. They seemed to be all animated with one and the same spirit; and reminded each other of those brave citizens of Geneva, who by sacrificing their lives had repulsed, in 1602, the troops of Savoy, when the latter had treacherously scaled the walls during a profound peace. No one ventured even to hint at surrendering; and all awaited the attack with the most determined intrepidity. In this crisis, the French general, at the intercession of the Negatives, alarmed for the fate of the prisoners, again prolonged the period prescribed for the capitulation.

The first effect of these repeated delays was gradually to abate the enthusiasm of the women:

they could not but feel that they were wives and mothers ; and began to figure to themselves all the horrors of a town taken by assault, and a prey to a licentious and enraged soldiery. In the next place, timid and prudent persons could venture to conceal their fears under various pretences ; and at length the committee of safety, hitherto strenuous in enforcing the necessity of resistance, suddenly changed their resolution, but artfully disguised their sentiments from the public, until it was too late to prevent the surrender.

In the present ferment of passions and prejudices, if the leaders had openly proposed a surrender, they would have been considered as traitors ; they would only have endangered their own persons, and accelerated those calamities which they wished to avoid. For the purpose, therefore, of gradually bringing matters to the issue which they intended, they assembled the citizens in the respective circles ; and after warmly extolling their general zeal and patriotism, represented, that if the city should be attacked in the night, it would be no longer possible to convene them. For this reason they hinted, that it would be highly advantageous to the common cause, if each circle would nominate several deputies, with full authority to decide in their stead ; adding, that they ought rather to appoint those persons, who, from their age and respectable character, could assist their country by advice, while others were defending it by their valor.

This council, composed of about a hundred citizens, met at six in the evening, on the first of July, a few hours before the last term appointed for the surrender was about to expire. The chiefs

opened the debate with long speeches, in order to prepare the minds of the assembly for the object which they had in view. After having represented the state of the fortifications, which were judged by the most intelligent engineers to be only sufficient for resisting an attack by storm, and not for maintaining a siege of more than three or four days; they at length ventured to lay before them the necessity of an immediate surrender. On the bare mention of that word, the most violent of the assembly instantly burst into reproaches, and accused the committee with an intention of betraying the republic. They declared, that they would instantly announce to their fellow citizens the treachery of their deputies, who were not appointed to deliberate upon a surrender, but only upon the means of most effectual resistance. Apprehending the ill consequences of such a proceeding, one of the chiefs started from his seat, and barred the doors; while some of those who wished to retire, drew their swords, and shedding tears of despair, "To remain," they cried out, "a moment, was to share the treason, and to destroy their country." Every method was attempted to appease them: cries and exhortations were heard from all quarters.

At length, when the question concerning the surrender was proposed, a considerable majority voted for defending the city to the last extremity. On this determination, many of the most zealous, trusting to this decided majority, retired from the assembly, in order to prepare themselves for the hour of danger. Another consultation was then proposed by those who remained; the danger of dividing into parties, and of alienating the citizens

from their leaders, was represented in the strongest colors. These suggestions being attended with effect; long debates recommenced. One of the youngest in the assembly, being affected with the pathetic consideration of the distress of those widows and orphans, whose husbands and fathers should fall by the hand of the enemy, was of opinion, that only those who were unmarried, and who had no children, should be permitted to defend the ramparts. "We are not sufficient," he added; "to preserve the town from being taken; but enough to save our honor, and to obtain a less humiliating capitulation." He was interrupted by an elderly citizen, who claimed for fathers of families the glory of fighting for their country. "I have six sons," exclaimed he, with tears of exultation sparkling in his eyes, "and who shall prevent me from marching at their head to the ramparts?"

It was then proposed to conduct the hostages in the face of the French batteries, as a means of intimidating Mr. de Jaucourt from firing against the ramparts; for it was to be presumed, that he would not expose to certain destruction those magistrates whom he came to deliver. This opinion, which for a short time seemed likely to prevail, gave place to the more generous resolution of restoring the prisoners to liberty, permitting the Negatives to retire to the enemy's camp, and then of preparing for a vigorous resistance. It was urged, such a noble mode of proceeding, in so alarming a moment, would probably soften the resentment of the aristocratical party, and induce them to obtain from the French general more favorable terms of accommodation.

Many hours were consumed in discussing these various opinions. The fatal period approached: it was midnight; and the chiefs, who had now contrived to strike the greatest number with a panic; won over the assembly to their sentiments, by proposing a general emigration; and consoled them, in the midst of their despair, with the hopes of enjoying that liberty in another country, which they could no longer expect to find in their own.

A declaration being then drawn up, to be delivered to the Syndics at the same time with the keys of the city; the hostages were instantly conducted to their respective houses; the chiefs summoned the principal officers from their posts, ordered the cannon of several batteries to be rendered unfit for service, and at length provided for their own safety by retiring from the town before the entry of the confederate troops.

When the unexpected news of the surrender was announced to the public, they became frantic with despair. Some mutually embraced each other without uttering a single word; others loaded their chiefs with the most dreadful imprecations; while a few, still determined to resist, ineffectually summoned their fellow citizens by beat of drum to their standards. The greatest part, however, having discharged and broken their muskets, flung themselves with their faces to the ground, and lay motionless for a considerable time. At length a general retreat took place. The roads were covered with persons of both sexes, who fled hastily from the walls; and the Sardinians, who first entered the gates at five in the morning, found the city almost deserted.

The count de la Marmora, as if actuated by motives of compaffion for the degraded fituation of Geneva, marched in filence, and without an insulting difplay of military pomp; and, having occupied the town-houfe and the magazines for powder, vifited in perfon the different quarters of the city, in order to diffipate all apprehenfions of danger. About noon the two other commanders made their entry: they were accompanied by a large body of Negatives, and marched at the head of their refpective troops, with drums beating and colors flying. Having joined the Sardinian forces, the three generals conduéted the magiftrates, lately delivered from prifon, to the Great Council, and re-eftablifhed them in their feveral charges, to the found of martial mufic. The citizens were difarmed; each houfeholder obliged to furnifh the officers with quarters; the edict of the 6th of February 1781, which had conferred the burgherfhip on above a hundred natives, was annulled. In the midft of thefe arrangements, the Great Council laid, with all due form, the foundation of a theatre: a troop of comedians was introduced; and the ariftocratical party celebrated their triumph with balls, feafts, and every fpecies of public diverfion.

Mean while a committee appointed by the Great and Little Councils prepared, in concert with the three generals, an edict for new modelling the conftitution, which being approved at the courts of Verfailles and Turin, and by the canton of Berne, was confirmed by the Great and Little Councils. But as it annulled many confiderable rights hitherto enjoyed by the citizens, it was not probable, that it would be ratified

Such is the history of this extraordinary revolution; prepared for some time by the enmity of the two parties; occasioned by the impolitic tho' just demand of a code of laws; hastened by the two insurrections; and completed by the intrigues and arms of France. It must be acknowledged, that the Representatives, or popular party, acted in a most imprudent as well as unconstitutional manner; and particularly, that no excuse can be admitted for the second insurrection, and the imprisonment of the magistrates. The Representatives, by the edict of 1768, possessed great privileges, which in time would have placed in their hands the whole administration of government. As the greatest number in the General Assembly, they enjoyed the right of annually excluding four members from the Senate, and of filling half the vacancies in the Great Council; they must, therefore, in a few years, have inevitably obtained a decided majority. The most prudent among them saw this advantage, and were contented; but the greater part, and perhaps a few of their leaders, eager to grasp immediately that power, of which they had only a distant prospect, precipitated measures; and acting, in a few instances, diametrically opposite to the first principles of their constitution, hastened its destruction. It must, at the same time, be confessed, that however imprudently or unconstitutionally the Representatives acted, yet that the Negatives, secure of support from the Court of Versailles, seemed to carry their confidence in their own strength to such a degree, as almost to court the troubles which ensued; and that they have availed themselves of their victory to a degree only to be palliated by absolute necessity.

necessity. A new form of government introduced by force, must be supported by force; by calling in the assistance of France, they must be entirely submissive to that power; and by annihilating the first principles of liberty, in disarming the citizens and forbidding all public meetings, they are in danger of extinguishing that spirit of emulation and energy for which the Genevans have long been distinguished. Having established a rigorous aristocracy, they must necessarily adopt that jealousy and suspicion which not unfrequently characterizes the magistrates under that species of government: and the only question now remaining, is, Whether the above-mentioned spirit of emulation and energy will be diminished by the change of constitution; and if so, whether that diminution will be counterbalanced by the introduction of a greater degree of tranquillity than is usually to be found in democratical states?

The changes in the form of government, introduced by this revolution, are principally comprised in the following articles.

1. The power granted in 1768 to the General Council, of re-election, or of annually excluding four members from the Senate, is abolished.

2. The privilege enjoyed by the same assembly, of nominating half the vacancies in the Great Council, is likewise annulled; and that body is now supplied by the Senate and Great Council, according to the following complicated mode of election: — In case of sixteen vacancies, the Great Council selects eight members from sixteen candidates proposed by the Senate; and in like manner the Senate chuses eight from the same

But the house of Savoy having purchased the Genevois, and succeeded to all the prerogatives of the counts, with additional power; the bishops and the people firmly united, in order to oppose encroachments, which were no less prejudicial to the authority of the one, than to the liberties of the others. During this period, the respective pretensions of the count, bishops, and citizens, were so various, as to form a government equally singular and complicated. The harmony, however, between the bishops and citizens, was at length broken by the artful management of the counts of Savoy, who had the address to procure the episcopal see for their brothers, and even for their illegitimate children. By these methods, their power in the city became so enlarged, that, towards the commencement of the sixteenth century, Charles the Third, duke of Savoy, (although the form of government was entirely republican) obtained an almost absolute authority over the citizens, and exercised it in the most unjust and arbitrary manner. Hence arose perpetual struggles between the duke and the citizens; the latter continually opposing, either by open violence, or secret measures, his tyrannical usurpation: thus two parties were formed; the zealots for liberty were called *eidgenossen*, or confederates; while the partisans of the duke were branded with the appellation of *mammelucs*, or slaves.

The treaty of alliance, which the town contracted with Berne and Friburgh, in 1526, may be considered as the true era of its liberty and independence: for, not long after, the duke was deprived of his authority; the bishop driven from

the city; a republican form of government established, and the reformation introduced. From this time, Charles and his successors waged incessant war against the town: but his hostilities were rendered ineffectual, by the intrepid bravery of the citizens, and the assistance of Berne.

In 1584 Geneva concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance with Zurich and Berne, by which it is allied with the Swiss cantons.

The last attempt of the House of Savoy against Geneva, was in 1602; when Charles Emanuel treacherously attacked the town during a profound peace. Two hundred soldiers scaled the walls in the night, while the inhabitants were reposed in unsuspecting security; but being timely discovered, were repulsed by the desperate valor of a few citizens, who gloriously sacrificed their lives in defence of the liberties of their country. As a tribute of public gratitude for their glorious resistance, these brave Genevans were buried with great pomp, and their names are recorded on a sepulchral stone. In memory of this event, some of the scaling-ladders, by which the enemy entered the town, are preserved in the arsenal; and also the petard, which was fastened to one of the gates, when the gunner was killed before it could be discharged. The war occasioned by this perfidy was concluded in the following year by a solemn treaty: since that period, uninterrupted peace has been maintained between the house of Savoy and Geneva; although the king of Sardinia did not formally acknowledge, till 1754, the independence of the republic.

No sooner was peace concluded with the House of Savoy, than the flames of internal discord, so

apt to kindle in popular governments, and which had been smothered by their common danger from a foreign enemy, began to appear. During the greatest part of the last century, to the present period, the history of Geneva contains little more than a narrative of contentions between the aristocratical and the popular parties. These mutual struggles have been occasionally exerted with so much violence and animosity, as to threaten, for a moment, a total revolution in the state; but, happily, they have been hitherto compromised without producing any fatal effects ⁴.

About the beginning of the present century, the power of the Great Council was become almost absolute. In order to restrain its authority, the popular party, in 1707, procured an edict, that every five years a general council of the citizens and burghers should be summoned, to deliberate upon the affairs of the republic. Agreeably to this law, a general assembly was convened in 1712; and the very first act exerted by the people in this their collective capacity, was the abolition of the above-mentioned edict.

An event of so singular a nature, can hardly be accounted for upon the general principle of popular fickleness and inconsistency: accordingly Rousseau, in his *Lettres écrites de la Montagne*, imputes it to the artifices of the magistrates; and to the equivocal terms marked upon the billets then in use. For, the question proposed to the people being, “Whether the opinion of the
“councils,

⁴ The reader will recollect that this letter was written in 1776, before the late Revolution of 1782, which is related in the subsequent letter.

“councils, for abolishing the periodical general assemblies, should pass into a law?” the words employed on the billets delivered for that purpose, were, *approbation*, *rejection*; so that whichever side was taken, it came to the same point. If the billet of *approbation* was chosen, the opinion of the councils which rejected the periodical assembly, was approved; if that of *rejection*, then the periodical assembly was rejected of course. Accordingly, several of the citizens afterwards complained that they had been deceived, as they never meant to reject the general assembly, but only the opinion of the councils⁵.

In consequence of this extraordinary repeal, the power of the aristocracy continued increasing till within these few years; when the citizens, by a singular conjunction of favorable circumstances, joined to an uncommon spirit of union and perseverance, have procured several changes in the constitution of Geneva; by which the authority of the magistrates has been limited, and the rights of the people enlarged. Happy! if they know where to stop; lest, continuing to extend the bounds of their own privileges, they shake the foundations of civil government, by too much restraining the power of the magistrates.

The present constitution of Geneva, may be considered as a mean between that of the aristocratical and popular cantons: more democratical than any of the former, inasmuch as the sovereign and legislative authority entirely resides in the general assembly of the citizens; and more aristocratical than the latter, because the powers

⁵ Miscellaneous Works of Rousseau, Vol. iv. p. 279.

vested in the Great and Little Councils are very considerable.

The members of the Senate, or Little Council of twenty-five, enjoy, in their corporate capacity, several prerogatives almost as great as those which are possessed by that of the most aristocratical states. They nominate half the members of the Great Council, supply the principal magistrates from their own body, convoke the Great Council and the General Council, and previously deliberate upon every question which is to be brought before these councils: in other words, in them is lodged the power of proposing; consequently, as every act must originate from them, no law can pass without their approbation. In this senate is vested also the chief executive power; the administration of the finances; and, to a certain degree, jurisdiction in civil and criminal causes. They nominate, likewise, to most of the smaller posts of government; and enjoy the sole privilege of conferring the burghership. They compose, moreover, in conjunction with thirty-five members of their own choosing, the Secret Council, which never assembles but by their convoking, and only upon extraordinary occasions.

These considerable prerogatives, however, are counterbalanced as well by the privileges of the Great Council, as by the franchises of the General Council. The privileges of the former consist in choosing the members of the senate from their own body; in receiving appeals in all causes above a certain value; in pardoning criminals; in disposing of the most important charges of government, those excepted which are conferred by the General Council; and in approving or rejecting

whatever is proposed by the Senate to be laid before the people.

The General Council, or assembly of the people, is composed of the citizens and burghers of the town: their number, in general, amounts to about 1,500, but seldom more than 1,200 meet at the same time; the remainder being either settled in foreign countries, or usually absent. I ought to have explained to you sooner, the distinction between *citizens* and *burghers*: the latter, are either the sons of citizens or burghers⁶, born out of Geneva, or have obtained the burghership by purchase; the former, are the sons of citizens or burghers, born within the town of Geneva. The burghers may be chosen into the council of two hundred, but the citizens alone can enter into the Senate, and possess the charges appropriated to that body.

The General Council meets twice a year, chooses the principal magistrates, assents to, or rejects, the laws and regulations proposed by the councils, imposes taxes, contracts alliances, declares war or peace, and nominates half of the members in the Great Council. All questions are decided by the majority of voices; and each member delivers his vote without having the liberty of debating. The restriction is certainly reasonable; for, in a popular assembly, like this of Geneva, composed of citizens, the meanest of whom is well versed in the constitution of the commonwealth, and where the people in general have a strong propensity to enter into political

⁶ The children of those who are employed in foreign countries, in the service of the state, although born out of Geneva, are entitled to all the privileges of citizens.

discussions; if every voter was permitted to support and enforce his opinion by argument, there would be no end of debate, and the whole time would be consumed in petulant declamation.

But the principal check to the power of the Senate, arises from the right of *re-election*, or the power of annually expelling four members from the Senate at the nomination of the syndics, and from the privilege of *representation*. The right of re-election may be exercised in the following manner: the four syndics, or chiefs of the republic, are chosen annually out of the Senate by the General Council; and there must be an interval of three years before the same members can be again appointed. The usual mode of election is as follows: — The Senate nominates from its own body eight candidates, who must be approved by the Great Council; and out of these eight, the members of the General Council chuse the four syndics. They have it in their power, however, not only to reject these eight candidates, but also all the other senators successively: and in that case, four members of the Senate retire into the Great Council, and an equal number of the last-mentioned body occupy the places of the degraded senators.

With respect to the second restraint I mentioned upon the power of the Senate, the right of *representation*; every citizen or burgher has the privilege of applying to the Senate in order to procure a new regulation, or of remonstrating against any act of the magistracy. These representations have, perhaps, proved one of the principal means of securing the liberties of the people from the respective encroachments of the two

councils; as they have frequently prevented the magistrates from stretching their authority to the same extent that has been practised in some other commonwealths of Switzerland. The magistrates are obliged to give an explicit answer to these representations; for, if the first is not considered as satisfactory, a second remonstrance is presented. According to the nature and importance of the complaint, the representation is made by a greater or less number of citizens, and it has sometimes happened, that each remonstrance has been accompanied by several hundred, in different bodies.

The salaries of the magistrates are so inconsiderable, as not to offer any temptation on the side of pecuniary emolument: a sense of honor, a spirit of ambition, the desire of serving their country, together with that personal credit which is derived from exercising any office in the administration, are the principal motives which actuate the candidates to solicit a share in the magistracy. Accordingly, the public posts are generally filled with men of the first abilities, and of the most respectable characters. The revenues of government, at the highest calculation, scarcely amount to 30,000 pounds a year; a sum, however, which, by a well-regulated œconomy, is more than sufficient to defray the current expenses; so that this republic is enabled to provide for the security of its subjects, from an income which some individuals, in other countries, squander in pomp and dissipation.

It is very remarkable that, in a republic so free as this of Geneva, and where the true principles of liberty are so well and so generally understood, there should be no precise code of penal laws:

for, although the form of the prosecution is settled, yet the trial of the criminal is private, and the punishment left to the decision of the magistrate. Nor are the franchises of the people ascertained with that accuracy which might be expected. Indeed, under Ademar Fabri, bishop of Geneva in the fourteenth century, a certain number of political regulations, both civil and criminal, together with several particular customs and franchises, were drawn up in form; and the bishop took an oath to observe them. These statutes, if they may be so called, were also confirmed by Amadeus the eighth, duke of Savoy. This code, to which the people appeal in all cases of controversy, is compiled in a very inaccurate and confused manner, and the magistrates refuse to submit to its authority, because it was published before the independence of the republic was confirmed. The people have repeatedly demanded a precise code of municipal and penal laws, so express and determinate, as to prevent the arbitrary decision of the magistrate; and although such a code was ordered to be compiled in 1738 and 1768, yet its compilation has been hitherto deferred.

The code of civil law is the most perfect part of the constitution; all matters concerning commerce being well regulated, and private property securely guarded. It is unnecessary to trouble you with a particular detail of the sumptuary laws, which are much the same as those in most of the other states of Switzerland, where restrictions of that kind are enforced. But there is one law, relating to bankrupts, too singularly severe not to be mentioned. If a member of either council

becomes a bankrupt, he is immediately degraded; and from that moment is rendered incapable of holding any post under government, until he shall have discharged all the just demands of his creditors: even his children are subjected to the same disgrace; and no citizen can exercise any public employment, while the debts of his father remain unpaid.

In this city, as in all the other principal towns of Switzerland, a public granary is established. Magazines of this kind, useful in all states, are more particularly necessary in so populous a place as Geneva, which, if the neighbouring powers were to prohibit the importation of corn, might be exposed to the horrors of famine. This corn is dried by means of machines well contrived for that purpose, and retailed to the innkeepers and bakers: a considerable profit accrues to government; and there is always, in case of necessity, a sufficient quantity in reserve to support the inhabitants during a year and a half.

Geneva is strongly fortified on the side of Savoy, and a garrison constantly maintained; but these fortifications, and this garrison, are only sufficient to guard them from any sudden attack; but could not be defended long against a regular siege. The great security of the republic consists in its alliance with the Swiss cantons, by means of Zurich and Berne: and, as it is the interest both of the kings of France and Sardinia to be in friendship with the Swiss, and to preserve the independence of Geneva; it derives its greatest security from a circumstance which in some cases, would be the source of danger; namely, that its territory borders upon the dominions of such powerful neighbours.

Geneva is the only republic in Switzerland, which has no regular companies in any foreign service; wisely prohibiting the inlisting of mercenaries in every part of its territory.

I am, &c.

LETTER 65.

Account of the late Revolution at Geneva. — Origin and Progress of the intestine Troubles. — Siege and Surrender of the Town. — Changes in the Form of Government. — Emigration. — Project for a Genevan Settlement in Ireland — relinquished.

HAVING in a former letter sketched the general history of Geneva, and described the form of government existing in 1776; I shall now give an account of the late troubles, and relate the changes of the constitution in 1782. In this narrative, instead of entering into the altercations of party, I shall endeavour to develop the principal causes which excited the people to take arms, to imprison several of the magistrates, and, at length, to surrender the town, at the moment when they seemed most determined to defend it to the last extremity.

By the edict of 1768, tranquillity was, apparently, restored to Geneva, and several alterations were introduced into the ancient constitution. By these changes, however, the intestine troubles were only smothered, but not extinguished. The

Negatives, or aristocratical party, discontented at the right of re-election extorted from them in 1768, which they considered as a species of ostracism, were ready to seize the first opportunity of obtaining its abolition; while the *Representants*, or partisans of the people, were inclined to push their advantages to the utmost, and to secure their victory by too precipitate an exercise of this new privilege.

The project for the compilation of a new code of laws, which, although ordered by the edicts of 1738 and 1768, had been hitherto delayed under various pretences, was another cause of misunderstanding between the two parties, and was the immediate occasion of the succeeding troubles. Many reasons induced the *Negatives* to oppose its compilation.

First; An accurate statement of the customs and usages would considerably diminish their prerogatives, by abridging the great discretionary powers, which the want of a precise code must necessarily intrust to the will of the magistrates. — Secondly; As, in order to furnish materials for such a work, it became absolutely necessary to search into the ancient archives; it was surmised, that many titles would be exposed to the public eye, which would favor the pretensions of the House of Savoy; and that others would be brought forward by the democratical party, in order to justify farther encroachments. The *Representants*, however, continued to demand the compilation of a new code; and at length, in January 1777, forced the *Negatives* to consent to their demand, by excluding, according to their right of *re-election*, four members from the Senate or little Council.

In consequence of this measure, a committee, for the purpose of forming a code of laws, was appointed by the concurrence of the Little, Great, and General Councils. This committee was to exist two years; and the code was to be laid before the three Councils, for their joint approbation or rejection.

At length, on the first of September 1779, the committee submitted a sketch of the first part of this code to the Little and Great Councils, in order to profit by their observations, before it was presented to the General Council. Many articles, however, being considered by the Negatives as too democratical, met with great opposition: the Senate proposed to the Great Council, that the Committee should be prorogued for the purpose of amending the code; but the Negatives, who formed the majority, decided, that the code should not be accepted, and that the committee should be dissolved.

This measure was violently reprobated by one party as unconstitutional, and supported as warmly by the other. By the former it was argued, that the Great Council exceeded its powers; because the Little Council having laid before the Great Council the question, "Whether the powers of the committee should be prolonged?" the latter, instead of deciding that point, and *that* only; had determined, "that the code itself should not be accepted." — The popular party considered this mode of proceeding as an evident breach of the constitution: for it was argued, that the Senate alone has the power of proposing, and the Great Council the privilege of approving or rejecting the motion, and not that of amending or altering it.

Further, it was urged, that as the committee had been appointed conjointly by the three Councils, and the code was to be submitted to their approbation or rejection; the Great Council did not possess the right of cancelling the code, although they had that of dissolving the committee.

To these objections the Negatives answered, that the Great Council did not dissolve the committee; because, being appointed only for two years, it ceased of course at the expiration of that term; and that as to the necessity of submitting the approbation or rejection of the code proposed by the committee to the three Councils, it might be urged, that the Little and Great Councils had the sole prerogative of framing a new code, and of laying it before the General Council; that they had acted inconsistently in permitting that Council to have any share in appointing the committee; and, therefore, that they now only used their prerogative in resuming those powers which they had unwarily granted to others.

Many persons, however, were of opinion, that although the Little and Great Councils possessed the undoubted right of proposing to the General Council; yet, as they had once admitted that Council to a share in appointing⁷ the committee, they were imprudent in rejecting the code by their own authority; and ought, at the expiration of

⁷ Strictly speaking, the names of the commissioners were not laid before the General Council; but simply the proposal of appointing a committee. The commissioners were privately settled by the two parties; and the burghers acceded to the proposition in general terms, as they previously knew, that the commissioners were mostly favorable to the popular party.

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two years, to have nominated, conjointly with the burghers, a new committee, for the purposes of compiling a code of laws, according to the edicts of 1738 and 1768.

In consequence of these disputes, the body of citizens remonstrating against this act of the Great Council, that assembly offered to undertake the compilation of the code; and to submit it to the public examination. The opposite party considering this offer as insidious, many debates took place, and various negotiations were carried on between the two parties, which only served to widen rather than heal the dissensions. At length the *Negatives*, considering the public tranquillity as endangered, appealed to their guarantees, France, Zurich, and Berne, and entreated them to protect the laws and constitution. But this appeal had no other effect than to heighten the distrust and suspicion of both parties. In this crisis of affairs, the *Negatives* redoubled their efforts to strengthen themselves by the accession of the natives, and to spread the seeds of jealousy between the latter and the citizens.

The natives, sons of the inhabitants, who had purchased the right of settling at Geneva, formed a numerous body, discontented and jealous of many exclusive privileges enjoyed by the citizens, and inflamed with resentment against them, for having, in 1770, banished eight of the principal natives, who, pretending, that the rights of the burghership belonged to the natives as well as to the citizens, demanded, that instead of being purchased, it should be gratuitously conferred. With a view of acquiring so considerable an accession to their own party, the *Negatives* courted the

natives by careffes, fubfidies, and entertainments, and iffued a public declaration, that they were ready to confer upon them thofe privileges of trade and commerce, which, had been hitherto excluſively confined to the citizens.

The count of Vergennes alfo openly favored the deſign of the Negatives, and even wrote diſpatches to the reſident of France at Geneva in order to be communicated to the principal natives, who ſided with the Negatives. Theſe diſpatches contained the higheſt expreſſions of approbation, and ſtrongly recommended them to perſevere in their attachment to that party. The attorney general conceiving this interference contrary to the eſtabliſhed mode of proceeding, which required, that all diſpatches from a foreign miniſter ſhould paſs through the hands of government, delivered to the Great Council a ſpirited remonſtrance, displaying the danger which reſulted from a private correſpondence between the court of France and the natives. He artfully, indeed, ſurmized, that the report of the diſpatch from the French miniſter to the natives, was falſe and inſidious, and calculated to raiſe a miſunderſtanding between that power and the republic; and even advanced ſeveral arguments, which tended to prove the impoſſibility, that ſuch an extraordinary correſpondence could have been maintained.

The irony and ſpirit of this remonſtrance were ſo offensive to the count of Vergennes, that he inſtantly obtained the depoſition of the attorney general; and this public ſtep in favor of the Negatives conſiderably increaſed their party among the natives.

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T R A V E L S
IN
SWITZERLAND,

AND IN THE
COUNTRY OF THE GRISONS:
IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO *WILLIAM MELMOTH*, Esq.

FROM
WILLIAM COXE,
M. A. F. R. S. F. A. S.

To which are added the Notes and Observations of
Mr. RAMOND, translated from the French.

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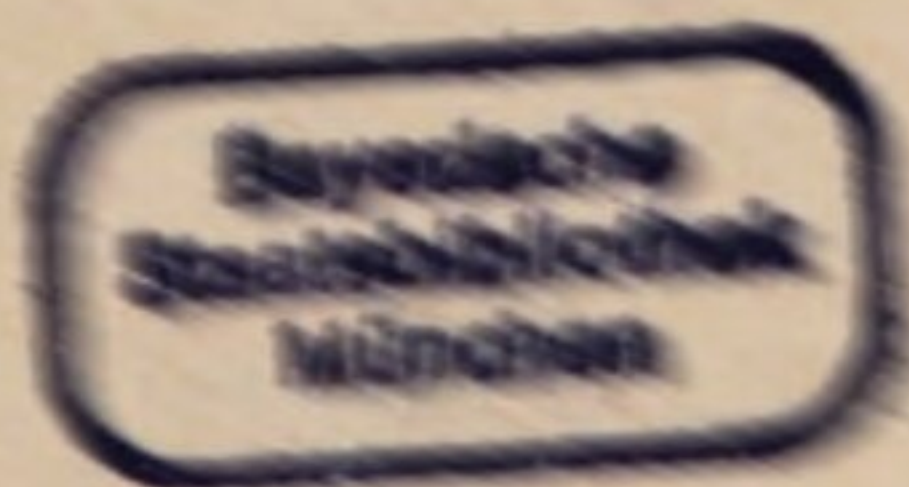
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1 8 0 2.

Je voudrais rechercher dans tout le gouvernement
modérée que nous connaissons, quelle en soit la distribu-
tion des trois pouvoirs, et calculer par là le degré
de liberté dont chacun d'eux peut jouir.

MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Loix*, L. xi. c. 10.



LETTERS, &c.

LETTER 62.

Payerne — Moudon — Geneva — Calvin.

Geneva, Sept. 6.

I TOOK leave of my friends at Langenau, in order to proceed to Avignon; where I am going to pay a visit to the *Abbé de Sade*, author of the interesting memoirs of the life of Petrarch. Monsieur de Vigur, a Senator of Soleure, offered me a place in his carriage to Berne: and, as my principal object in travelling is to acquire intelligence, I very gladly embraced this opportunity of leading my worthy and well-informed companion into a conversation, not only concerning the government of Soleure in particular, but in relation also to Switzerland in general; and I found him exceedingly well-disposed to answer the several questions he allowed me to propose to him.

The next day I repassed through Morat and Avenches, and slept at Payerne, a town in the canton of Berne, which enjoys considerable privileges. Upon the bridge over the Broye, is an ancient Roman inscription: as I was endeavouring to decipher it, a plain-looking man accosted me in a very solemn tone of voice, and said, he had often tried to make out the inscription, but without success; though he could read very well, and had a smattering in Latin. "For," added he, "what can be the meaning of N and I and O,

and all those great letters, which seem to have no connexion with each other? Give me a page of plain Latin, and I will translate it from the beginning to the end; but for these Ns, Is and Os; take my word for it, notwithstanding all your pains, you will never be the wiser." However, as I did not seem disposed to follow his advice, but, continued deciphering the inscription (which was by no means a difficult task) he appeared astonished at my obstinacy, and left me, with an apparent air of pity, to my hopeless fortune.

Moudon is a handsome town, the principal burgh of a bailliage of the same name, and formerly the capital of all that part of the Pays de Vaud, which belonged to the duke of Savoy. It was also the ordinary residence of his chief bailiff, and the place where the assembly of the states were accustomed to meet. The bailiff appointed by the sovereign council of Berne, resides in the castle of Lucens, built upon the summit of a mountain, in a situation exceedingly picturesque. This castle formerly belonged to the bishops of Lausanne, and was one of their favorite seats, before the reformation was introduced into this country.

Geneva lies upon the narrowest part of the lake, where the Rhone issues in two large and rapid streams, which soon afterwards unite. That river separates the city into two unequal divisions, receives the muddy Arve in its course, and flows through France into the Mediterranean. The adjacent country is uncommonly picturesque, and abounds in magnificent views: the several objects which compose this enchanting prospect, are, the town; the lake; the numerous hills and mountains,

particularly the Saleve and the Mole, rising suddenly from the plain in a variety of fantastic forms, backed by the glaciers of Savoy, with their frozen tops glistening in the sun; and the majestic Mont Blanc rearing its head far above the rest.

Geneva, which lies partly in the plain upon the borders of the lake, and partly upon a gentle ascent, is irregularly built; the houses are high, and many, which stand in the trading part of the city, have arcades of wood, which are raised even to the upper stories. These arcades, supported by pillars, give a gloomy appearance to the street; but are useful to the inhabitants in protecting them from the sun and rain. Geneva is by far the most populous town in Switzerland; and contains 24,000 souls. This superiority of numbers is undoubtedly owing to the great industry and activity of the inhabitants; to its more extensive commerce; to the facility of purchasing the burghership; and to the privileges which government allows to all foreigners. The members of this city are distinguished into citizens and burghesses, inhabitants and natives¹. The citizens and burghesses are alone admitted to a share in the government: the inhabitants are strangers who are allowed to settle in the town with certain privileges; and the natives are the sons of those inhabitants, who possess additional advantages. The two last classes form a large majority of the people.

The liberal policy of this government, in receiving strangers and conferring the burghership,

¹ Since the late revolution in 1782, there is a fifth class, called *domiciliés*, who receive from the magistrates an annual permission to remain in the city.

is the more remarkable as it is contrary to the spirit and usage of the Swifs. It is here, indeed, more necessary; the territory of this state being so exceedingly small, that its very existence depends upon the number and industry of the people: for, exclusive of the city, there are scarcely 16,000 souls in the whole district of the Genevois.

The reformed doctrines first preached at Geneva in 1533, by William Farel, a native of Gap in Dauphiné, and Peter Viret of Orbe, owed their final reception and establishment to John Calvin. That celebrated reformer was born at Noyon, in 1509, and being driven from France by the persecutions which Francis the First had raised against the protestants, made his first appearance in this city in 1536.

Notwithstanding Zuingli, Oecolampadius, and Haller, had reformed the greatest part of Switzerland, some years before that period; yet Calvin, as Voltaire justly observes, has given his name to the sectaries of the reformed religion, in the same manner as the new continent took its appellation from Americus Vesputius, although the original discovery was made by Columbus. And although Calvin was not the first reformer of Geneva; yet, as he gave additional strength and solidity to the new establishment, and founded the ecclesiastical form of government, he totally eclipsed the fame of his friend William Farel, who scattered the first seeds of reformation, which the other brought to maturity. In truth, so great was the ascendancy which Calvin, although a foreigner, acquired over the citizens, that he possessed considerable influence even in civil matters; and bore a large share in settling the political

constitution. Conscious that religion derives support from every branch of knowledge, he liberally promoted the cultivation of science, and the study of elegant literature. To this end, as well as to encourage theological erudition, he prevailed upon government to establish a public academy: but with singular disinterestedness declining the proposal of being appointed perpetual president, he obtained that office for his friend and fellow-laborer, Theodore Beza. In this new seminary, Calvin, with Theodore Beza, and his other colleagues, eminent for their superior knowledge, read lectures, with such uncommon reputation and success, as attracted students from all quarters.

There is such a striking splendor in the brighter parts of this disinterested and celebrated reformer's character, as to render us, at first glance, almost insensible to those dark spots which in some instances have obscured its glory. But when we reflect on his asperity and arrogance; and, above all, on the cruel persecution of Servetus; we cannot but lament that he did not rise superior to the intolerant principles of the age, which in all other instances he helped to enlighten. With regard, however, to his intolerant principles, it must be acknowledged, that the same uncharitable spirit prevailed also among many of the most celebrated reformers; who unaccountably conceived, in opposition, not only to the genius, but to the clearest precepts of the gospel, that persecution for conscience sake, although unchristian in every other ecclesiastical establishment, was justifiable in their own. This absurd and dangerous opinion, gave great advantage to their adversaries of the papal hierarchy: for, it is obvious to the meanest

understanding, that, if persecution is justifiable in any particular church, it must be so universally.

The republic of Geneva is, however, at present, the most tolerating of all the reformed states in Switzerland; being the only government in this country, which permits the public exercise of the Lutheran religion. In this respect the clergy, no less wisely, than suitably to the spirit as well as the letter of the Christian revelation, have renounced the principles of their great patriarch, Calvin; although they still hold that able reformer in high veneration; yet they know how to distinguish his virtues from his defects, and to admire the one without being blindly partial to the other.

I am, &c.

LETTER 63.

On the Literature of Geneva.

TO a man of letters Geneva is particularly interesting: learning is divested of pedantry, and philosophy united with a knowledge of the world; the pleasures of society are mixed with the pursuits of literature, and elegance and urbanity give a zest to the profoundest disquisitions. Nor are letters confined in this city merely to those who engage in them as a profession, or to those whose fortune and leisure enable them to follow where genius leads. Even the lower class of people are exceedingly well informed; and there is perhaps no city in Europe, where learning is more universally diffused. I received great satisfaction in

conversing even with several tradesmen upon topics both of literature and politics; and was astonished to find, in this class of men, so uncommon a share of knowledge. But the wonder ceases, when we are told, that all of them were educated at the public academy, where the children of the citizens are taught, under the inspection of the magistrates, and at the expense of government.

One circumstance in this seminary particularly contributes to excite the industry and emulation of the students: prizes are annually distributed to those, who have distinguished themselves in each class. These rewards consisting of small medals, are conferred with such solemnity, as cannot fail of producing great effect. A yearly meeting of all the magistrates, professors, and principal inhabitants, is held at the cathedral, when the first syndic himself distributes, in the most public manner, the honorary retributions. I met this morning one of the scholars, and, seeing his medal, inquired its meaning? "*Je la porte,*" replied the boy, scarcely eight years old, "*parce que j'ai fait mon devoir.*" I required no stronger proof to convince me of the beneficial influence upon young minds, from these encouraging and judicious distinctions, than appeared from this sprightly specimen.

The citizens enjoy the advantage also of having free access to the public library; and by this privilege, they not only retain but improve that general tincture of learning which they imbibe in their early youth.

The public library owes its origin to Bonnivard, prior of St. Victor, who was twice ² imprisoned

² See above vol. II. let. 43.

for having asserted, against the dukes of Savoy, the independence of Geneva; and who considered the hardships he had suffered, and the perils he had escaped, as ties that endeared him more strongly to a city, which he had adopted as his own. He was a principal promoter of the reformation by gentle means and gradual instruction. He closed his benefactions to his beloved city by the gift of his valuable manuscripts and books, and by bequeathing his fortune towards the establishment and support of the seminary. His works, which chiefly relate to the history of Geneva, are preserved with that care and reverence, which are due to so eminent a benefactor.

The library contains 25,000 volumes and many curious manuscripts, of which an accurate and learned catalogue has been lately published by the Rev. Mr. Senebier the librarian. He has attempted to determine the ages of the several manuscripts; he describes their form and size, the materials on which they are written, the ornaments, the characteristic phrases, and mentions the proofs on which he grounds his opinions. He adds also the notes, and distinguishes those which have never been printed.

M. Senebier has also favored the world with *Histoire Littéraire de Geneve*, accompanied with biographical anecdotes of those natives, who have been celebrated for their learning. As I should trespass too much upon your time, if I were to attempt sending you an account of the principal men of letters in Geneva, I shall confine myself to those only, with whom I am personally acquainted.

Charles Bonnet was born in 1720. His life has been devoted to the pursuits of literature, and to

the improvement of philosophy and science. He has proved by his publications, that his indefatigable industry in searching into the phenomena of the creation, is equalled only by his ingenuity in explaining them. His works, printed at Neufchatel, form nine volumes in quarto, or eighteen in octavo, and contain divers subjects of natural history, many accurate observations on insects, on the vegetation of plants, on the use of leaves in plants, considerations on organized bodies, and the contemplations of nature.

By several treatises, and particularly his Analytical Essay on the Faculties of the Soul, he has shown himself an acute metaphysician. Like his friend Haller, he has also stood forth an able advocate for the great principles of natural and revealed religion. His ³ Philosophical Researches on Christianity, and his treatise on the Existence of God, prove, that an intimate knowledge of nature necessarily tends to establish a rational belief of those great truths.

I had frequent opportunities of conversing with this respectable philosopher: though now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, he possesses an uncommon degree of vivacity and animation, still retains his enthusiasm for the pursuits of science, and speaks with the same perspicuity and elegance as are observable in his writings.

I was no less ambitious of being known to his nephew Mr. de Saussure. Born in 1740; he was elected professor of philosophy in 1762; and has

³ A translation of his *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Preuves du Christianisme*, has been lately given to the public, by John Lewis Boissier, Esq. under the title of "Philosophical and Critical Inquiries concerning Christianity."

given to the public the following specimens of his indefatigable industry, and of the versatility of his talents: various remarks and experiments on microscopic animals; observations on electricity; on basaltic lavas and volcanic productions; on the physical geography of Italy. He has invented an instrument for measuring the degrees of magnetic force; and so much improved the electrometer of Cavallo, that it may be almost considered as a new instrument. But above all, his invention of the hair-hygrometer, or an instrument for measuring the moisture of the atmosphere, has enabled him to make many theoretical and experimental researches that are detailed in his *Essai sur l'Hygromètre*. And although a controversy is now subsisting between him and M. de Luc, concerning the propriety of hair as an instrument for this purpose; yet it cannot depreciate this invention; and new lights must be thrown on that subject by the opposition of two such able naturalists.

His *Voyages dans les Alpes*, of which two volumes in quarto have already made their appearance, treat of the physical geography of the alps, the formation of mountains, the origin of the glaciers, and various phenomena of nature, which peculiarly distinguish Switzerland. Unlike some philosophers of the present age, who from their cabinet, and with no other knowledge of the earth than what is acquired by books, peremptorily and presumptuously decide on the theory of the globe, this indefatigable observer draws from repeated travels, and incessant experience, a fund of facts, which may enable him to complete the great design and object of all his researches, that of establishing a more perfect theory of the earth.

The cabinet of M. de Saussure is an object worthy of the traveller's curiosity. It contains a collection of foreign and Swiss butterflies; various petrifications and fossils, more particularly a large variety of basalts and volcanic productions; numerous specimens of granites and other primitive stones; which he has collected during his various expeditions, and from parts which have been only visited by himself.

Mr. de Saussure has lately resigned the professorship of experimental philosophy, and is succeeded by my very worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Pictet Turretini, who has already distinguished himself by various publications, which elucidate several important branches of experimental philosophy.

Paul Henry Mallet, born at Geneva in 1730, passed the earlier part of his life at Copenhagen as preceptor to the present king, Christian the Sixth. His introduction to the history of Denmark, under the title of Northern Antiquities, proves him a profound and accurate antiquarian; and his histories of Hesse, Brunswic, and Denmark, show him no less eminent as an historian. I should on this occasion be unmindful of the honor conferred on me, if I omitted to mention, that his latest work is a translation of my Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, to which he has added many remarks, and a Journey into Norway.

Mr. de Luc, reader to the queen of Great Britain, and resident in England, is also a native of Geneva. He was born in 1727, and published, in 1772, his celebrated work on the modification of the atmosphere, and on the theory

of barometers and thermometers: a performance which marks a distinguished era in the history of experimental philosophy, and which we are happy to find he is still carrying on under the title of *Idées sur la Météorologie*. But in his *Letters Physiques et Morales, sur l'Histoire, de la Terre et de l'Homme*, Mr. de Luc appears to singular advantage. In this extraordinary performance, he has displayed a most extensive knowledge of nature, and has applied it with great sagacity in forming a new theory of the earth, and in a happy accommodation of his hypothesis to the Mosaic account of the creation.

The cabinet of Mr. de Luc is not only remarkable for the number and rarity of many specimens; but more particularly claims the attention of the naturalist, as a systematic collection, tending to illustrate his theory of the globe. With this view it may be divided into three principal parts. The first part contains petrifications and fossils; the second, the collection of stones; and the third, lavas and volcanic productions.

The first part is arranged in such a manner, under three distinct heads, as may enable the naturalist, 1. to compare the petrifications of animals and vegetables with the same bodies, which are still known to exist in our parts of the globe; 2. to compare those petrifications of animals and vegetables with the same bodies which are known to exist in distant countries; 3. to consider the petrifications of those bodies which are no longer known to exist.

The second part comprehends the stones under three points of view; 1. those of the primitive mountains, which contain no animal bodies;

2. those of the secondary mountains, which contain only marine bodies; 3. those which contain terrestrial bodies.

In the third part, the lavas and other volcanic productions are distinguished into, 1. those from volcanos now in a burning state; 2. those from extinct volcanos.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R 64.

Government of Geneva in 1776.

THE city of Geneva and its territory were formerly united to the German empire, under the successors of Charlemagne: but as the power of the emperors, feeble even in Germany, was still weaker in the frontier provinces, the bishops of Geneva, like several other great vassals of the empire, gradually acquired very considerable authority over the city and its domains; which the emperor had no other means of counterbalancing, than by increasing the liberties of the people. During these times of confusion, constant disputes subsisted between the bishops and the counts of the Genevois; for, the latter, although at their first institution merely officers of the emperor, and considered as vassals of the bishops, yet claimed and asserted a right to the exclusive administration of justice. The citizens took advantage of these quarrels, and, by siding occasionally with each party, obtained an extension of their privileges from both.

But the house of Savoy having purchased the Genevois, and succeeded to all the prerogatives of the counts, with additional power; the bishops and the people firmly united, in order to oppose encroachments, which were no less prejudicial to the authority of the one, than to the liberties of the others. During this period, the respective pretensions of the count, bishops, and citizens, were so various, as to form a government equally singular and complicated. The harmony, however, between the bishops and citizens, was at length broken by the artful management of the counts of Savoy, who had the address to procure the episcopal see for their brothers, and even for their illegitimate children. By these methods, their power in the city became so enlarged, that, towards the commencement of the sixteenth century, Charles the Third, duke of Savoy, (although the form of government was entirely republican) obtained an almost absolute authority over the citizens, and exercised it in the most unjust and arbitrary manner. Hence arose perpetual struggles between the duke and the citizens; the latter continually opposing, either by open violence, or secret measures, his tyrannical usurpation: thus two parties were formed; the zealots for liberty were called *eidgenossen*, or confederates; while the partisans of the duke were branded with the appellation of *mammelucs*, or slaves.

The treaty of alliance, which the town contracted with Berne and Friburgh, in 1526, may be considered as the true era of its liberty and independence: for, not long after, the duke was deprived of his authority; the bishop driven from

the city; a republican form of government established, and the reformation introduced. From this time, Charles and his successors waged incessant war against the town: but his hostilities were rendered ineffectual, by the intrepid bravery of the citizens, and the assistance of Berne.

In 1584 Geneva concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance with Zurich and Berne, by which it is allied with the Swiss cantons.

The last attempt of the House of Savoy against Geneva, was in 1602; when Charles Emanuel treacherously attacked the town during a profound peace. Two hundred soldiers scaled the walls in the night, while the inhabitants were reposed in unsuspecting security; but being timely discovered, were repulsed by the desperate valor of a few citizens, who gloriously sacrificed their lives in defence of the liberties of their country. As a tribute of public gratitude for their glorious resistance, these brave Genevans were buried with great pomp, and their names are recorded on a sepulchral stone. In memory of this event, some of the scaling-ladders, by which the enemy entered the town, are preserved in the arsenal; and also the petard, which was fastened to one of the gates, when the gunner was killed before it could be discharged. The war occasioned by this perfidy was concluded in the following year by a solemn treaty: since that period, uninterrupted peace has been maintained between the house of Savoy and Geneva; although the king of Sardinia did not formally acknowledge, till 1754, the independence of the republic.

No sooner was peace concluded with the House of Savoy, than the flames of internal discord, so

apt to kindle in popular governments, and which had been smothered by their common danger from a foreign enemy, began to appear. During the greatest part of the last century, to the present period, the history of Geneva contains little more than a narrative of contentions between the aristocratical and the popular parties. These mutual struggles have been occasionally exerted with so much violence and animosity, as to threaten, for a moment, a total revolution in the state; but, happily, they have been hitherto compromised without producing any fatal effects ⁴.

About the beginning of the present century, the power of the Great Council was become almost absolute. In order to restrain its authority, the popular party, in 1707, procured an edict, that every five years a general council of the citizens and burghers should be summoned, to deliberate upon the affairs of the republic. Agreeably to this law, a general assembly was convened in 1712; and the very first act exerted by the people in this their collective capacity, was the abolition of the above-mentioned edict.

An event of so singular a nature, can hardly be accounted for upon the general principle of popular fickleness and inconsistency: accordingly Rousseau, in his *Lettres écrites de la Montagne*, imputes it to the artifices of the magistrates; and to the equivocal terms marked upon the billets then in use. For, the question proposed to the people being, “Whether the opinion of the
“councils,

⁴ The reader will recollect that this letter was written in 1776, before the late Revolution of 1782, which is related in the subsequent letter.

“councils, for abolishing the periodical general assemblies, should pass into a law?” the words employed on the billets delivered for that purpose, were, *approbation*, *rejection*; so that whichever side was taken, it came to the same point. If the billet of *approbation* was chosen, the opinion of the councils which rejected the periodical assembly, was approved; if that of *rejection*, then the periodical assembly was rejected of course. Accordingly, several of the citizens afterwards complained that they had been deceived, as they never meant to reject the general assembly, but only the opinion of the councils⁵.

In consequence of this extraordinary repeal, the power of the aristocracy continued increasing till within these few years; when the citizens, by a singular conjunction of favorable circumstances, joined to an uncommon spirit of union and perseverance, have procured several changes in the constitution of Geneva; by which the authority of the magistrates has been limited, and the rights of the people enlarged. Happy! if they know where to stop; lest, continuing to extend the bounds of their own privileges, they shake the foundations of civil government, by too much restraining the power of the magistrates.

The present constitution of Geneva, may be considered as a mean between that of the aristocratical and popular cantons: more democratical than any of the former, inasmuch as the sovereign and legislative authority entirely resides in the general assembly of the citizens; and more aristocratical than the latter, because the powers

⁵ Miscellaneous Works of Rousseau, Vol. iv. p. 279.

vested in the Great and Little Councils are very considerable.

The members of the Senate, or Little Council of twenty-five, enjoy, in their corporate capacity, several prerogatives almost as great as those which are possessed by that of the most aristocratical states. They nominate half the members of the Great Council, supply the principal magistrates from their own body, convoke the Great Council and the General Council, and previously deliberate upon every question which is to be brought before these councils: in other words, in them is lodged the power of proposing; consequently, as every act must originate from them, no law can pass without their approbation. In this senate is vested also the chief executive power; the administration of the finances; and, to a certain degree, jurisdiction in civil and criminal causes. They nominate, likewise, to most of the smaller posts of government; and enjoy the sole privilege of conferring the burghership. They compose, moreover, in conjunction with thirty-five members of their own choosing, the Secret Council, which never assembles but by their convoking, and only upon extraordinary occasions.

These considerable prerogatives, however, are counterbalanced as well by the privileges of the Great Council, as by the franchises of the General Council. The privileges of the former consist in choosing the members of the senate from their own body; in receiving appeals in all causes above a certain value; in pardoning criminals; in disposing of the most important charges of government, those excepted which are conferred by the General Council; and in approving or rejecting

whatever is proposed by the Senate to be laid before the people.

The General Council, or assembly of the people, is composed of the citizens and burghers of the town: their number, in general, amounts to about 1,500, but seldom more than 1,200 meet at the same time; the remainder being either settled in foreign countries, or usually absent. I ought to have explained to you sooner, the distinction between *citizens* and *burghers*: the latter, are either the sons of citizens or burghers⁶, born out of Geneva, or have obtained the burghership by purchase; the former, are the sons of citizens or burghers, born within the town of Geneva. The burghers may be chosen into the council of two hundred, but the citizens alone can enter into the Senate, and possess the charges appropriated to that body.

The General Council meets twice a year, chooses the principal magistrates, assents to, or rejects, the laws and regulations proposed by the councils, imposes taxes, contracts alliances, declares war or peace, and nominates half of the members in the Great Council. All questions are decided by the majority of voices; and each member delivers his vote without having the liberty of debating. The restriction is certainly reasonable; for, in a popular assembly, like this of Geneva, composed of citizens, the meanest of whom is well versed in the constitution of the commonwealth, and where the people in general have a strong propensity to enter into political

⁶ The children of those who are employed in foreign countries, in the service of the state, although born out of Geneva, are entitled to all the privileges of citizens.

discussions; if every voter was permitted to support and enforce his opinion by argument, there would be no end of debate, and the whole time would be consumed in petulant declamation.

But the principal check to the power of the Senate, arises from the right of *re-election*, or the power of annually expelling four members from the Senate at the nomination of the syndics, and from the privilege of *representation*. The right of re-election may be exercised in the following manner: the four syndics, or chiefs of the republic, are chosen annually out of the Senate by the General Council; and there must be an interval of three years before the same members can be again appointed. The usual mode of election is as follows: — The Senate nominates from its own body eight candidates, who must be approved by the Great Council; and out of these eight, the members of the General Council chuse the four syndics. They have it in their power, however, not only to reject these eight candidates, but also all the other senators successively: and in that case, four members of the Senate retire into the Great Council, and an equal number of the last-mentioned body occupy the places of the degraded senators.

With respect to the second restraint I mentioned upon the power of the Senate, the right of *representation*; every citizen or burgher has the privilege of applying to the Senate in order to procure a new regulation, or of remonstrating against any act of the magistracy. These representations have, perhaps, proved one of the principal means of securing the liberties of the people from the respective encroachments of the two

councils; as they have frequently prevented the magistrates from stretching their authority to the same extent that has been practised in some other commonwealths of Switzerland. The magistrates are obliged to give an explicit answer to these representations; for, if the first is not considered as satisfactory, a second remonstrance is presented. According to the nature and importance of the complaint, the representation is made by a greater or less number of citizens, and it has sometimes happened, that each remonstrance has been accompanied by several hundred, in different bodies.

The salaries of the magistrates are so inconsiderable, as not to offer any temptation on the side of pecuniary emolument: a sense of honor, a spirit of ambition, the desire of serving their country, together with that personal credit which is derived from exercising any office in the administration, are the principal motives which actuate the candidates to solicit a share in the magistracy. Accordingly, the public posts are generally filled with men of the first abilities, and of the most respectable characters. The revenues of government, at the highest calculation, scarcely amount to 30,000 pounds a year; a sum, however, which, by a well-regulated œconomy, is more than sufficient to defray the current expenses; so that this republic is enabled to provide for the security of its subjects, from an income which some individuals, in other countries, squander in pomp and dissipation.

It is very remarkable that, in a republic so free as this of Geneva, and where the true principles of liberty are so well and so generally understood, there should be no precise code of penal laws:

for, although the form of the prosecution is settled, yet the trial of the criminal is private, and the punishment left to the decision of the magistrate. Nor are the franchises of the people ascertained with that accuracy which might be expected. Indeed, under Ademar Fabri, bishop of Geneva in the fourteenth century, a certain number of political regulations, both civil and criminal, together with several particular customs and franchises, were drawn up in form; and the bishop took an oath to observe them. These statutes, if they may be so called, were also confirmed by Amadeus the eighth, duke of Savoy. This code, to which the people appeal in all cases of controversy, is compiled in a very inaccurate and confused manner, and the magistrates refuse to submit to its authority, because it was published before the independence of the republic was confirmed. The people have repeatedly demanded a precise code of municipal and penal laws, so express and determinate, as to prevent the arbitrary decision of the magistrate; and although such a code was ordered to be compiled in 1738 and 1768, yet its compilation has been hitherto deferred.

The code of civil law is the most perfect part of the constitution; all matters concerning commerce being well regulated, and private property securely guarded. It is unnecessary to trouble you with a particular detail of the sumptuary laws, which are much the same as those in most of the other states of Switzerland, where restrictions of that kind are enforced. But there is one law, relating to bankrupts, too singularly severe not to be mentioned. If a member of either council

becomes a bankrupt, he is immediately degraded; and from that moment is rendered incapable of holding any post under government, until he shall have discharged all the just demands of his creditors: even his children are subjected to the same disgrace; and no citizen can exercise any public employment, while the debts of his father remain unpaid.

In this city, as in all the other principal towns of Switzerland, a public granary is established. Magazines of this kind, useful in all states, are more particularly necessary in so populous a place as Geneva, which, if the neighbouring powers were to prohibit the importation of corn, might be exposed to the horrors of famine. This corn is dried by means of machines well contrived for that purpose, and retailed to the innkeepers and bakers: a considerable profit accrues to government; and there is always, in case of necessity, a sufficient quantity in reserve to support the inhabitants during a year and a half.

Geneva is strongly fortified on the side of Savoy, and a garrison constantly maintained; but these fortifications, and this garrison, are only sufficient to guard them from any sudden attack; but could not be defended long against a regular siege. The great security of the republic consists in its alliance with the Swiss cantons, by means of Zurich and Berne: and, as it is the interest both of the kings of France and Sardinia to be in friendship with the Swiss, and to preserve the independence of Geneva; it derives its greatest security from a circumstance which in some cases, would be the source of danger; namely, that its territory borders upon the dominions of such powerful neighbours.

Geneva is the only republic in Switzerland, which has no regular companies in any foreign service; wisely prohibiting the enlisting of mercenaries in every part of its territory.

I am, &c.

LETTER 65.

Account of the late Revolution at Geneva. — Origin and Progress of the intestine Troubles. — Siege and Surrender of the Town. — Changes in the Form of Government. — Emigration. — Project for a Genevan Settlement in Ireland — relinquished.

HAVING in a former letter sketched the general history of Geneva, and described the form of government existing in 1776; I shall now give an account of the late troubles, and relate the changes of the constitution in 1782. In this narrative, instead of entering into the altercations of party, I shall endeavour to develop the principal causes which excited the people to take arms, to imprison several of the magistrates, and, at length, to surrender the town, at the moment when they seemed most determined to defend it to the last extremity.

By the edict of 1768, tranquillity was, apparently, restored to Geneva, and several alterations were introduced into the ancient constitution. By these changes, however, the intestine troubles were only smothered, but not extinguished. The

Negatives, or aristocratical party, discontented at the right of re-election extorted from them in 1768, which they considered as a species of ostracism, were ready to seize the first opportunity of obtaining its abolition; while the *Representants*, or partisans of the people, were inclined to push their advantages to the utmost, and to secure their victory by too precipitate an exercise of this new privilege.

The project for the compilation of a new code of laws, which, although ordered by the edicts of 1738 and 1768, had been hitherto delayed under various pretences, was another cause of misunderstanding between the two parties, and was the immediate occasion of the succeeding troubles. Many reasons induced the *Negatives* to oppose its compilation.

First; An accurate statement of the customs and usages would considerably diminish their prerogatives, by abridging the great discretionary powers, which the want of a precise code must necessarily intrust to the will of the magistrates. — Secondly; As, in order to furnish materials for such a work, it became absolutely necessary to search into the ancient archives; it was surmised, that many titles would be exposed to the public eye, which would favor the pretensions of the House of Savoy; and that others would be brought forward by the democratical party, in order to justify farther encroachments. The *Representants*, however, continued to demand the compilation of a new code; and at length, in January 1777, forced the *Negatives* to consent to their demand, by excluding, according to their right of *re-election*, four members from the Senate or little Council.

In consequence of this measure, a committee, for the purpose of forming a code of laws, was appointed by the concurrence of the Little, Great, and General Councils. This committee was to exist two years; and the code was to be laid before the three Councils, for their joint approbation or rejection.

At length, on the first of September 1779, the committee submitted a sketch of the first part of this code to the Little and Great Councils, in order to profit by their observations, before it was presented to the General Council. Many articles, however, being considered by the Negatives as too democratical, met with great opposition: the Senate proposed to the Great Council, that the Committee should be prorogued for the purpose of amending the code; but the Negatives, who formed the majority, decided, that the code should not be accepted, and that the committee should be dissolved.

This measure was violently reprobated by one party as unconstitutional, and supported as warmly by the other. By the former it was argued, that the Great Council exceeded its powers; because the Little Council having laid before the Great Council the question, "Whether the powers of the committee should be prolonged?" the latter, instead of deciding that point, and *that* only; had determined, "that the code itself should not be accepted." — The popular party considered this mode of proceeding as an evident breach of the constitution: for it was argued, that the Senate alone has the power of proposing, and the Great Council the privilege of approving or rejecting the motion, and not that of amending or altering it.

Further, it was urged, that as the committee had been appointed conjointly by the three Councils, and the code was to be submitted to their approbation or rejection; the Great Council did not possess the right of cancelling the code, although they had that of dissolving the committee.

To these objections the Negatives answered, that the Great Council did not dissolve the committee; because, being appointed only for two years, it ceased of course at the expiration of that term; and that as to the necessity of submitting the approbation or rejection of the code proposed by the committee to the three Councils, it might be urged, that the Little and Great Councils had the sole prerogative of framing a new code, and of laying it before the General Council; that they had acted inconsistently in permitting that Council to have any share in appointing the committee; and, therefore, that they now only used their prerogative in resuming those powers which they had unwarily granted to others.

Many persons, however, were of opinion, that although the Little and Great Councils possessed the undoubted right of proposing to the General Council; yet, as they had once admitted that Council to a share in appointing⁷ the committee, they were imprudent in rejecting the code by their own authority; and ought, at the expiration of

⁷ Strictly speaking, the names of the commissioners were not laid before the General Council; but simply the proposal of appointing a committee. The commissioners were privately settled by the two parties; and the burghers acceded to the proposition in general terms, as they previously knew, that the commissioners were mostly favorable to the popular party.

two years, to have nominated, conjointly with the burghers, a new committee, for the purposes of compiling a code of laws, according to the edicts of 1738 and 1768.

In consequence of these disputes, the body of citizens remonstrating against this act of the Great Council, that assembly offered to undertake the compilation of the code; and to submit it to the public examination. The opposite party considering this offer as insidious, many debates took place, and various negotiations were carried on between the two parties, which only served to widen rather than heal the dissensions. At length the *Negatives*, considering the public tranquillity as endangered, appealed to their guarantees, France, Zurich, and Berne, and entreated them to protect the laws and constitution. But this appeal had no other effect than to heighten the distrust and suspicion of both parties. In this crisis of affairs, the *Negatives* redoubled their efforts to strengthen themselves by the accession of the natives, and to spread the seeds of jealousy between the latter and the citizens.

The natives, sons of the inhabitants, who had purchased the right of settling at Geneva, formed a numerous body, discontented and jealous of many exclusive privileges enjoyed by the citizens, and inflamed with resentment against them, for having, in 1770, banished eight of the principal natives, who, pretending, that the rights of the burghership belonged to the natives as well as to the citizens, demanded, that instead of being purchased, it should be gratuitously conferred. With a view of acquiring so considerable an accession to their own party, the *Negatives* courted the

natives by careffes, fubfidies, and entertainments, and iffued a public declaration, that they were ready to confer upon them thofe privileges of trade and commerce, which, had been hitherto exclufively confined to the citizens.

The count of Vergennes alfo openly favored the defign of the Negatives, and even wrote difpatches to the refident of France at Geneva in order to be communicated to the principal natives, who fided with the Negatives. Thefe difpatches contained the higheft expreffions of approbation, and ftrongly recommended them to perfevere in their attachment to that party. The attorney general conceiving this interference contrary to the eftablifhed mode of proceeding, which required, that all difpatches from a foreign minifter fhould pafs through the hands of government, delivered to the Great Council a fpirited remonftrance, displaying the danger which resulted from a private correpondence between the court of France and the natives. He artfully, indeed, furmifed, that the report of the difpatch from the French minifter to the natives, was falfe and infidious, and calculated to raife a mifunderftanding between that power and the republic; and even advanced feveral arguments, which tended to prove the impoffibility, that fuch an extraordinary correpondence could have been maintained.

The irony and fpirit of this remonftrance were fo offensive to the count of Vergennes, that he instantly obtained the depofition of the attorney general; and this public ftep in favor of the Negatives confiderably increafed their party among the natives.

In order to counterbalance the offers of the Negatives and the favor of France, the Representatives manifested the most generous intentions in behalf of the natives; and even promised, what they had hitherto reprobated in the strongest manner, to facilitate the acquisition of the burghership, and to bestow it as the recompence of industry and good behaviour.

Thus the two parties striving who should offer the highest terms, two factions were formed among the natives; and it was easy to foresee, that the first opportunity of recurring to force would be seized by the populace; many of whom had nothing to lose, and much to gain in times of tumult and confusion.

In effect, such an opportunity presented itself on the 5th of February 1781; when a particular quarrel brought on a general rising. Two neighbouring and opposite parties of natives, casually disputing, loaded each other with virulent reproaches; and from reproaches would have immediately proceeded to an assault, if the Syndics on one side, and the chiefs of the Representatives on the other, had not quelled, by their presence, the rising tumult. The populace assembled on the occasion began to disperse; when a discharge of musketry was heard from the arsenal. Several youths, who sided with the Negatives, having taken possession of the arsenal, had fired⁸, by mistake, on some natives of their own party, killed one of them and wounded another. This discharge was considered by the Representatives as

⁸ It is but justice to the Negatives to add, that, according to the opinion of some, this first insurrection was concerted, and the Representatives fired first.

the signal of a general insurrection. They instantly took arms, and marched, in three columns, to the arsenal; where, finding only a few young men, who had rashly fired without orders, they prudently restrained their resentment, and permitted the others to retire without molestation. They then continued under arms, and occupied the principal avenues of the city.

The next morning the committee of the Representatives being summoned by the natives to fulfil their promises of granting additional privileges, and particularly of gratuitously conferring the burghership, held several meetings with the principal Negatives on that subject, but without success: for the latter, while they readily consented to the request of the natives respecting the augmentation of their commercial privileges, positively refused to facilitate the acquisition of the burghership.

Notwithstanding this refusal, the committee, embarrassed and alarmed at the number and threats of the natives, determined to abide by their promises, drew up an edict, which permitted the natives to carry on trade, and to hold the rank of officers in the military associations; and conferred the burghership on more than a hundred persons, taken from the natives and inhabitants, and even from the peasants of the territory. This edict was laid before and approved by the three Councils; the Negatives absenting themselves on this occasion from their apprehensions of the popular party, who had made themselves masters of the city. By this measure the Representatives esteemed themselves secure of having inviolably attached the natives to their interest, and concluded,

that nothing more remained than to enjoy the fruits of their victory. Affairs, however, turned out otherwise; deputies being dispatched from Zurich and Berne in order to mediate between the rival parties, prevailed on the Representatives to lay down their arms; and before their departure declared the edict in favor of the natives to be null and illegal. And when the question for executing that edict was laid before the Senate, it was repeatedly carried in the negative, under the just pretence, that the mediating powers had declared it to be illegal; that while the city was in the power of the Representatives who were under arms, none of the members could venture to oppose it; and that therefore their assent, which had been extorted by fear, was absolutely null.

Inflamed by this refusal, the opposite party tendered, on the 18th of march 1782, another representation, in which they again summoned the magistrates to confirm the edict. The answer, expected with the most extreme impatience, was at length returned on Sunday the 17th of April, and concluded with saying, "Government is neither willing nor able to ratify the edict."

Although the committee endeavoured first to conceal, and when that was impossible, to soften and palliate its contents, yet the generality of the natives, who found themselves excluded from the favorite object of their wishes, at the moment when they seemed most secure of obtaining it, crowded tumultuously in different parts of the city; repeating, one after the other, in a kind of frenzy, "Government is neither able nor willing to ratify the edict." As these cries of despair were followed by the most violent menaces; the popular chiefs, after

after several vain attempts to restrain the rising commotions, acquainted the magistrates with the general indignation; and endeavoured, though without success, to persuade them to recal or mollify their fatal answer. Mean while, night approached, ever favorable to tumults and insurrections, and brought on the crisis which ruined the republic.

Some of the lowest populace having set fire to a wooden barrac, cried out, "to arms;" on which signal the natives assembled in a tumultuous manner, and were joined by the most violent Representatives. The most moderate among the citizens, well convinced, that the fire was only a pretext, and that such an ill-timed insurrection would greatly prejudice their cause, dispersed themselves in various quarters of the town, and tried to prevail on the mob to retire; but without effect. Many were wantonly insulted; and a party, in attempting to secure one of the gates, having fired on the garrison who resisted, it became absolutely necessary for the citizens either to abandon the natives, or to join them in the insurrection. Having hastily adopted the latter measure, the officers of the popular party made their appearance, took possession of the town, and appeased the tumult. At length, after various unsuccessful negotiations to prevail on the Negatives to ratify the edict, the popular party arrested and confined a few of the magistrates and the principal Negatives; and the chiefs of the Representatives, apprehensive that an immediate appeal to France would be the first consequence of their liberty, detained them in prison as hostages for their farther security.

As this arrest and imprisonment of the principal magistrates appeared a measure as daring and atrocious as contradictory to sound policy; it may be proper to consider on what principles the Representatives acted, and by what arguments they defended their conduct. For this purpose it will be necessary to view the political situation of Geneva in the moment of this insurrection, with respect to the neighbouring states, and particularly in relation to France, of whose assistance the aristocratical party was secure, as soon as that power could interfere with effect and propriety.

The act by which France, Zurich, and Berne guaranteed the constitution of Geneva, as new-modelled in 1768, was no longer in force; a circumstance highly unfavorable to the popular party. For, as by this act, the king of France could not publicly interfere in the affairs of Geneva, except in concert with Zurich and Berne, he had only one voice; and consequently could not effectuate any change in the government, provided those two cantons were united against him. These shackles being highly displeasing both to the court of Versailles, and to the Negatives, who were protected by that court, the count of Vergennes, by a letter written on the 28th of September 1781, declared to the cantons of Zurich and Berne, that Louis the Sixteenth renounced the guarantee, because they had refused to enter into views for the purpose of restoring peace to Geneva; and in a dispatch to the Senate, bearing the same date, and to the same effect, he added, that the king, in renouncing the guarantee, did not withhold his protection from the commonwealth; but still reserved to himself the power of punishing the

disturbers of public tranquillity, and of supporting the constitution. The greatest number of the Representatives weakly rejoiced at this measure, from an idle persuasion, that the minister, fatigued with their trifling disputes, and despairing to overcome the perseverance of the citizens, abandoned them to themselves; and, thus in the very act which inevitably prepared subjection, imagined, that they saw the first gleam of absolute independence.

Soon after this renunciation, Mr. de Vergennes ordered a regiment to march into the land of Gex, which borders on the territory of Geneva; and the troops were still quartered on the frontiers, when the refusal of the Senate to confirm the edict gave rise to the insurrection. In this situation, the popular leaders argued, that for a long time a pretext had been wanted to appeal to Versailles; and it was now found: they dreaded every moment to see the French troops at the gates of the town; they thought it therefore most advisable to arrest and confine the magistrates, in order to intimidate them from calling in the succours of France, and to render them responsible for the public security.

Won over by these specious arguments, the body of citizens continued to act as if their power was likely to be permanent. They deposed several members of the Great and Little Councils, and appointed in their place an equal number of persons who were favorable to the cause of the Representatives. The great Council thus new-modelled, executed the edict for conferring the burghership on the stipulated number of natives; and appointed a committee of safety, composed of eleven members, with very considerable authority.

This committee entirely re-established public tranquillity, ordered the fortifications of the town to be repaired, and inspired the people with the most dangerous confidence in their own strength.

Zuric and Berne, on the first news of the late insurrection, interdicted their subjects from all intercourse with a government founded on usurpation and violence, and strenuously advised the Syndics to exhort the citizens to an immediate restoration of the legal constitution: a moment's delay, they urged, would be inevitable ruin. A few days afterwards the French minister returned unopened the dispatches of the new Senate, and reminded the citizens of the king's solemn engagement to support the oppressed, and to protect the ancient form of government. The citizens of Geneva, though thus deserted by their allies, were deaf to all admonitions, idly appealed to the justice of their cause, and disclaimed all overtures of accommodation except on their own terms.

During two months the citizens and natives, apparently secure within their ramparts, convinced either, that France durst not venture to attack them, or that the prisoners would be the immediate victims of such an attempt, and that they should be able to make a long and glorious resistance, would not even listen to any proposal of re-establishing the deposed magistrates; and could not be prevailed upon to sacrifice a part of their privileges, and particularly the right of re-election, for the security of the remainder.

At length, the storm gathering from all quarters, slowly approached, and hovered over the town. The king of Sardinia and the canton of Berne, both seconding the views of France,

dispatched troops against Geneva; and their respective generals, Messrs. de la Marmora and Lentulus, were ordered to act in concert with the French commander Mr. de Jaucourt, who had advanced to the frontiers at the head of a considerable detachment.

Nothing occasioned more surprise and indignation than the junction of Sardinia and Berne with the King of France; and yet no measure was more consonant to the views of those two powers.

The Sardinian monarch was interested in the preservation of a town, which is the chief source of industry and wealth to his subjects of Savoy; and whose intestine troubles had already caused a diminution of his revenue: and as he could not in common policy permit the French to increase their influence in these parts, and to quell, without his interference, the commotions of Geneva, he *voluntarily* tendered his assistance towards the accomplishment of so beneficial a purpose.

The Canton of Berne, desirous to prevent the interposition of foreign powers in the affairs of Switzerland, used, in a letter to the Syndics, the following exhortations. “Redouble your efforts
“with your fellow-citizens; and exert yourselves
“in order to compose the unhappy differences,
“which must infallibly terminate in the destruction of the republic. A speedy re-establishment of the legal government will restore to
“them their faithful allies, who are anxious to
“employ their good offices in behalf of the state.” But when these well-timed admonitions proved ineffectual, and the perseverance of the citizens had drawn upon them the resentment of France and Sardinia; Berne could not tamely behold two

such powers thus interfering in a crisis so important to her own particular welfare, and to the general interests of the Helvetic union; and, as Zurich had prudently declined to take an active part against her ancient ally, stood forth with that firmness and decision which characterize all her councils, and joined her forces to the confederate armies of France and Sardinia.

Notwithstanding this powerful combination, and even in the midst of these threatening appearances, the Genevans continued to repair the ramparts with indefatigable ardor. The peasants of the territory flocked of their own accord, and without pay, to mount guard, and to work at the fortifications; women, of all ranks, crowded to the ramparts, as to a place of public amusement; encouraging and animating the men to persevere in their labor, and some even sharing in their fatigue assisted in transporting burdens, or in planting cannon on the bastions. In the midst of this almost universal confidence, a few prudent persons, who foresaw the impossibility of resistance, sighed in secret; but were obliged to disguise their real sentiments, and could not venture in public but with an air of hope, serenity, and fortitude.

Mean while the besiegers advancing on all sides, the three commanders held frequent consultations, and formed a general plan of attack. At length, on the 29th of June 1782, Mr. de Jaucourt dispatched a message to the Syndics; in which, after expatiating on the disinterested intentions of the king his master, and protesting that he respected the independence of the republic, and was only desirous of introducing good order, he added,

that if they would not admit his troops, and accept the following preliminaries of peace, he must force his way into the town. Among other conditions, he exacted, that no person should appear in the streets, under pain of military punishment; that a certain number of citizens, among whom were all the chiefs of the Representatives, should in twenty-four hours retire from Geneva; that all arms should be delivered to the three generals; that the deposed magistrates should be instantly re-established; and that a final answer should be returned in two hours. The generals Lentulus and de la Marmora respectively insisted on the same conditions.

It is impossible to express the rage, indignation, and despair, which these humiliating conditions excited at Geneva. Without the least deliberation every person resolved to perish rather than accept them; and the moment of danger had no other effect than to animate and rouse the courage of the besieged. While they hurried to the ramparts, and were preparing for resistance, the Syndics secretly obtained from the three generals a delay of twenty-four hours. In this interval not only the men of all ages prepared for defence; but even women and children tore the pavement from the streets, and carried the stones to the tops of the houses, in order to roll them down upon the enemy, in case they should force their way into the town.

Such was the general ardor; that about eighty women and girls, dressed in uniforms, offered to form themselves into a company, for the purpose of defending their country. The committee of safety accepted their services, and placed them in a

barrac, which by its situation was covered from the cannon of the besiegers. These amazons, with a spirit above their sex, refused a station that was not sufficiently exposed; and, as the town soon afterwards surrendered, they had no opportunity of proving their patriotism by a display of their valor.

All these various signs of the most determined resolution, flowing unanimously from every rank, age, and sex, alarmed the Negatives, who never had suspected, that the people would carry matters to such desperate extremities. Accordingly, their partisans conferred with the most moderate among the Representatives, in order to find some means of reconciliation; but without success.

At length the fatal hour arrived, in which the answer was to be returned: it was to expire at ten on Sunday morning; and at the first beat of the drum the ramparts were covered with defenders. Although the most zealous had only calculated on 3000, above 5000 made their appearance. They seemed to be all animated with one and the same spirit; and reminded each other of those brave citizens of Geneva, who by sacrificing their lives had repulsed, in 1602, the troops of Savoy, when the latter had treacherously scaled the walls during a profound peace. No one ventured even to hint at surrendering; and all awaited the attack with the most determined intrepidity. In this crisis, the French general, at the intercession of the Negatives, alarmed for the fate of the prisoners, again prolonged the period prescribed for the capitulation.

The first effect of these repeated delays was gradually to abate the enthusiasm of the women:

they could not but feel that they were wives and mothers ; and began to figure to themselves all the horrors of a town taken by assault, and a prey to a licentious and enraged soldiery. In the next place, timid and prudent persons could venture to conceal their fears under various pretences ; and at length the committee of safety, hitherto strenuous in enforcing the necessity of resistance, suddenly changed their resolution, but artfully disguised their sentiments from the public, until it was too late to prevent the surrender.

In the present ferment of passions and prejudices, if the leaders had openly proposed a surrender, they would have been considered as traitors ; they would only have endangered their own persons, and accelerated those calamities which they wished to avoid. For the purpose, therefore, of gradually bringing matters to the issue which they intended, they assembled the citizens in the respective circles ; and after warmly extolling their general zeal and patriotism, represented, that if the city should be attacked in the night, it would be no longer possible to convene them. For this reason they hinted, that it would be highly advantageous to the common cause, if each circle would nominate several deputies, with full authority to decide in their stead ; adding, that they ought rather to appoint those persons, who, from their age and respectable character, could assist their country by advice, while others were defending it by their valor.

This council, composed of about a hundred citizens, met at six in the evening, on the first of July, a few hours before the last term appointed for the surrender was about to expire. The chiefs

opened the debate with long speeches, in order to prepare the minds of the assembly for the object which they had in view. After having represented the state of the fortifications, which were judged by the most intelligent engineers to be only sufficient for resisting an attack by storm, and not for maintaining a siege of more than three or four days; they at length ventured to lay before them the necessity of an immediate surrender. On the bare mention of that word, the most violent of the assembly instantly burst into reproaches, and accused the committee with an intention of betraying the republic. They declared, that they would instantly announce to their fellow citizens the treachery of their deputies, who were not appointed to deliberate upon a surrender, but only upon the means of most effectual resistance. Apprehending the ill consequences of such a proceeding, one of the chiefs started from his seat, and barred the doors; while some of those who wished to retire, drew their swords, and shedding tears of despair, "To remain," they cried out, "a moment, was to share the treason, and to destroy their country." Every method was attempted to appease them: cries and exhortations were heard from all quarters.

At length, when the question concerning the surrender was proposed, a considerable majority voted for defending the city to the last extremity. On this determination, many of the most zealous, trusting to this decided majority, retired from the assembly, in order to prepare themselves for the hour of danger. Another consultation was then proposed by those who remained; the danger of dividing into parties, and of alienating the citizens

from their leaders, was represented in the strongest colors. These suggestions being attended with effect; long debates recommenced. One of the youngest in the assembly, being affected with the pathetic consideration of the distress of those widows and orphans, whose husbands and fathers should fall by the hand of the enemy, was of opinion, that only those who were unmarried, and who had no children, should be permitted to defend the ramparts. "We are not sufficient," he added; "to preserve the town from being taken; but enough to save our honor, and to obtain a less humiliating capitulation." He was interrupted by an elderly citizen, who claimed for fathers of families the glory of fighting for their country. "I have six sons," exclaimed he, with tears of exultation sparkling in his eyes, "and who shall prevent me from marching at their head to the ramparts?"

It was then proposed to conduct the hostages in the face of the French batteries, as a means of intimidating Mr. de Jaucourt from firing against the ramparts; for it was to be presumed, that he would not expose to certain destruction those magistrates whom he came to deliver. This opinion, which for a short time seemed likely to prevail, gave place to the more generous resolution of restoring the prisoners to liberty, permitting the Negatives to retire to the enemy's camp, and then of preparing for a vigorous resistance. It was urged, such a noble mode of proceeding, in so alarming a moment, would probably soften the resentment of the aristocratical party, and induce them to obtain from the French general more favorable terms of accommodation.

Many hours were consumed in discussing these various opinions. The fatal period approached: it was midnight; and the chiefs, who had now contrived to strike the greatest number with a panic; won over the assembly to their sentiments, by proposing a general emigration; and consoled them, in the midst of their despair, with the hopes of enjoying that liberty in another country, which they could no longer expect to find in their own.

A declaration being then drawn up, to be delivered to the Syndics at the same time with the keys of the city; the hostages were instantly conducted to their respective houses; the chiefs summoned the principal officers from their posts, ordered the cannon of several batteries to be rendered unfit for service, and at length provided for their own safety by retiring from the town before the entry of the confederate troops.

When the unexpected news of the surrender was announced to the public, they became frantic with despair. Some mutually embraced each other without uttering a single word; others loaded their chiefs with the most dreadful imprecations; while a few, still determined to resist, ineffectually summoned their fellow citizens by beat of drum to their standards. The greatest part, however, having discharged and broken their muskets, flung themselves with their faces to the ground, and lay motionless for a considerable time. At length a general retreat took place. The roads were covered with persons of both sexes, who fled hastily from the walls; and the Sardinians, who first entered the gates at five in the morning, found the city almost deserted.

The count de la Marmora, as if actuated by motives of compassion for the degraded situation of Geneva, marched in silence, and without an insulting display of military pomp; and, having occupied the town-house and the magazines for powder, visited in person the different quarters of the city, in order to dissipate all apprehensions of danger. About noon the two other commanders made their entry: they were accompanied by a large body of Negatives, and marched at the head of their respective troops, with drums beating and colors flying. Having joined the Sardinian forces, the three generals conducted the magistrates, lately delivered from prison, to the Great Council, and re-established them in their several charges, to the sound of martial music. The citizens were disarmed; each householder obliged to furnish the officers with quarters; the edict of the 6th of February 1781, which had conferred the burghership on above a hundred natives, was annulled. In the midst of these arrangements, the Great Council laid, with all due form, the foundation of a theatre: a troop of comedians was introduced; and the aristocratical party celebrated their triumph with balls, feasts, and every species of public diversion.

Mean while a committee appointed by the Great and Little Councils prepared, in concert with the three generals, an edict for new modelling the constitution, which being approved at the courts of Versailles and Turin, and by the canton of Berne, was confirmed by the Great and Little Councils. But as it annulled many considerable rights hitherto enjoyed by the citizens, it was not probable, that it would be ratified

by the General Council, in which the party of the Representatives had still a great majority. In order, therefore, to obtain its final confirmation, it was enacted, that, when the edict was laid before the General Council, those Representatives, who had taken up arms, should for that time be excluded; under pretence, that the insurrection had rendered them unworthy of exercising their rights; and it was added, that they might esteem themselves extremely fortunate in not being exposed to the utmost rigor of the laws.

Accordingly, on the 15th of November 1782, the members of the General Council assembled to the number of five hundred; above a thousand being excluded from giving their votes. And yet even this phantom of supreme power was surrounded with troops. Notwithstanding, however, the exclusion of so many, and the general panic, above a hundred Representatives, and even several Negatives, had the courage to reject the edict; which appeared to many, even among the Negatives, as establishing too rigorous an aristocracy.

The citizens of Geneva have incurred much ridicule and censure, for having so early and repeatedly expressed the most determined resolution never to surrender the town, and to resist until it was taken by assault. In a pamphlet, also, styled "*Lettre écrite des ramparts de Geneve*," the author combats all the arguments which might be urged in favor of a capitulation, and vehemently asserts, that he, as well as his fellow citizens, are resolved to defend the town to the last extremity, and rather to court death from the hands of the enemy than survive the extinction of their liberties. These assertions appeared mere ostentatious

vaunts, as the pamphlet was not printed and dispersed until after the surrender; and led the public to attribute vain-boasting and cowardice, which are usually united, as essential characteristics of the people of Geneva.

On reviewing, however, the history of the revolution with impartiality, it cannot admit a doubt; that the people were unanimously against a surrender; that, till within a few hours before the confederate troops entered the gates, they expected, and were prepared for, an assault; that they had intrusted the command to the committee of safety; that the latter, alarmed at the near approach of danger, had suddenly changed their opinion, had betrayed them into a surrender against their intentions, and without their knowledge, and had taken such precautions as rendered all resistance impracticable.

As the committee has been greatly censured for this sudden change of opinion; it is but justice to add, that of eleven members and several adjuncts, who composed the committee, two thirds voted against the surrender. But in fact, of what avail was resistance at this period? Upon a supposition that the siege could have been protracted for a few days; the kings of France and Sardinia, and the canton of Berne, had fresh troops ready to march; and in less than a week so large a reinforcement would have been collected before the gates of Geneva, that any further opposition must have been madness. In a word, the popular leaders acted wrong in buoying up the hopes of people, that resistance could be effectual; and by the repair of the ramparts only served to inspire the public with a dangerous confidence, which they were not afterwards able to dissipate.

Such is the history of this extraordinary revolution; prepared for some time by the enmity of the two parties; occasioned by the impolitic tho' just demand of a code of laws; hastened by the two insurrections; and completed by the intrigues and arms of France. It must be acknowledged, that the Representatives, or popular party, acted in a most imprudent as well as unconstitutional manner; and particularly, that no excuse can be admitted for the second insurrection, and the imprisonment of the magistrates. The Representatives, by the edict of 1768, possessed great privileges, which in time would have placed in their hands the whole administration of government. As the greatest number in the General Assembly, they enjoyed the right of annually excluding four members from the Senate, and of filling half the vacancies in the Great Council; they must, therefore, in a few years, have inevitably obtained a decided majority. The most prudent among them saw this advantage, and were contented; but the greater part, and perhaps a few of their leaders, eager to grasp immediately that power, of which they had only a distant prospect, precipitated measures; and acting, in a few instances, diametrically opposite to the first principles of their constitution, hastened its destruction. It must, at the same time, be confessed, that however imprudently or unconstitutionally the Representatives acted, yet that the Negatives, secure of support from the Court of Versailles, seemed to carry their confidence in their own strength to such a degree, as almost to court the troubles which ensued; and that they have availed themselves of their victory to a degree only to be palliated by absolute necessity.

necessity. A new form of government introduced by force, must be supported by force; by calling in the assistance of France, they must be entirely submissive to that power; and by annihilating the first principles of liberty, in disarming the citizens and forbidding all public meetings, they are in danger of extinguishing that spirit of emulation and energy for which the Genevans have long been distinguished. Having established a rigorous aristocracy, they must necessarily adopt that jealousy and suspicion which not unfrequently characterizes the magistrates under that species of government: and the only question now remaining, is, Whether the above-mentioned spirit of emulation and energy will be diminished by the change of constitution; and if so, whether that diminution will be counterbalanced by the introduction of a greater degree of tranquillity than is usually to be found in democratical states?

The changes in the form of government, introduced by this revolution, are principally comprised in the following articles.

1. The power granted in 1768 to the General Council, of re-election, or of annually excluding four members from the Senate, is abolished.

2. The privilege enjoyed by the same assembly, of nominating half the vacancies in the Great Council, is likewise annulled; and that body is now supplied by the Senate and Great Council, according to the following complicated mode of election: — In case of sixteen vacancies, the Great Council selects eight members from sixteen candidates proposed by the Senate; and in like manner the Senate chuses eight from the same

number of candidates appointed by the Great Council.

3. The right of *representation*, or remonstrating, is taken from the citizens at large, and transferred to thirty-six adjuncts, who may be present in the Great Council, on the first Monday of each month: they enjoy the privilege of making representations, and in that case have a deliberative voice. But, as they are removable every year; and are drawn by lot from all the citizens in general, who may chuse to present themselves as candidates; they are considered as so extremely dependent on the will of the magistrates, and their representations have such little weight, that they are called in derision, *Les Images*, or The Shadows.

4. The introduction of the *grabeau*, or annual confirmation of the members of the Senate, and of the Great Council, exclusively vested in the last-mentioned body. This law, which may be considered as the basis of the new constitution, has transferred to the Great Council part of the authority both of the Senate and of the General Council. By subjecting the Senate to this annual revision, it has rendered that body greatly dependent on the Great Council, which by the present constitution is become, what the Senate was according to the form of government established in 1738 and 1768, the centre of the aristocracy.

5. The circles, or clubs, in which the citizens used to be convened, and all public assemblies⁹,

⁹ One instance of the ill effects arising from this prohibition, fell under my observation: The society of Arts in Geneva, many of whose members are persons of great abilities and

are prohibited; and they are only allowed to meet at coffee-houses. This prohibition was at first carried to an extreme degree of jealousy, highly derogatory from every principle of free government; but lately it has been somewhat modified; and assemblies are permitted to be held in the country, though not within the walls of Geneva.

6. The militia is abolished; firing at marks, even with bows and arrows, prohibited; and the guard of the town, instead of being consigned to the citizens, is intrusted to a garrison of 1000 foreign soldiers, whose colonel and major are both foreigners: these troops take an oath of fidelity to the republic, and of obedience to the Great Council, and to the Committee of War; they are under the immediate command and inspection of the latter, and subject to the superior control of the former. This garrison may be augmented to 1200, and reduced to 800 men, at the will of the Great Council;

learning, has already given to the world several interesting publications. But as all public assemblies are prohibited, government was suspicious lest this literary society should indulge itself in political questions; and accordingly no meeting has been held since the late revolution. Indeed, when I was at Geneva, it was then in agitation to suffer the society to assemble; but it was very uncertain whether this permission would be granted; and if granted, whether it would not be greatly fettered by the diminution of the number of its members, and by several other restrictions, incompatible with the freedom of literary disquisitions. It is a matter of little consequence to Europe in general, whether the government of Geneva is more or less aristocratical or democratical; but it is an object of general importance, whether a literary society should be prevented, by political jealousy, from holding those assemblies, which will afford a means and opportunity of continuing to supply the world with learned and interesting publications.

but cannot be further enlarged or diminished without the consent of the General Council.

7. No citizen, native, or inhabitant, is permitted to have arms. It is not unworthy of remark on this article, that although by the ancient constitution every citizen was obliged to provide himself with arms, under a certain penalty; yet, that when these were delivered up, government did not reimburse the expense.

8. Several taxes were imposed without the consent of the General Council; but for the future, every change or augmentation of the revenue must be submitted to that body.

9. Various privileges, respecting the equal rights to trade and commerce, formerly possessed by the citizens alone, have been conferred on the natives and inhabitants; a liberal concession, to which both parties willingly acceded.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE Genevans seemed so greatly to deplore the diminution of that liberty to which they had long been accustomed, and to which they ascribed the late remarkable increase of their population and riches, that if we had judged from the discontents and consternation of the citizens, we might have concluded the change of government would have been followed by an almost general emigration. The event, however, has not justified this conclusion. Excepting the principal leaders, those of the popular party who were banished, and a few others who renounced their country in compliance with their political principles; the greatest part of the emigrants returned, and again

settled in the place of their nativity. And perhaps it may be affirmed with truth, that the late revolution has scarcely driven six hundred persons from Geneva.

The emigrants have principally established themselves at Brussels and Constance¹; where they have introduced manufactures of printed linens and watch-making.

I cannot quit this subject without recalling to your recollection, the plan for giving an asylum to the Genevan emigrants in Ireland, which so long engaged the public attention.

Soon after the revolution, a memorial signed by above a thousand Genevans of both sexes, who were either persons of some property, or versed in trade or manufactures, expressing a desire of settling in Ireland, was presented to Earl Temple (now Marquis of Buckingham) then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His Excellency, conscious of the advantage which must result to Ireland from the reception of so many industrious artists, many of whom possessed property in the English, Irish, and French funds, communicated, on the 27th of September 1782, the proposal to the Privy Council of Ireland for giving an asylum to the Genevan emigrants. This proposal, patronized by the Lord Lieutenant, and unanimously consented to by the Privy Council, was approved by the King. The nobility and gentry of Ireland seemed to vie with each other in countenancing the settlement; the Irish parliament voted L.50,000 towards defraying the expenses of their journey, and building a town for their reception; lands

¹ See Letter 3.

were purchased for L. 8000 in a convenient situation near Waterford; part of the New Geneva was actually completed, at the expense of L. 10,000; a charter was granted with very considerable privileges; the standard of gold was altered for the accommodation of the watch manufacturers; the foundation of an academy approved, upon a useful, extensive, and oeconomic plan²; in July 1783, several Genevans landed in Ireland; and when the nation had expended near L. 30,000, the project was suddenly relinquished, and the settlement finally abandoned.

The failure of this project may be principally attributed to the following cause. — If the settlement could have been immediately carried into execution, the Genevans would have emigrated in very considerable numbers; but many necessary delays were occasioned by the arrangement of so complicated a plan, by the high demands of the Genevan commissioners, who, in drawing up the charter, required many privileges which were contradictory to the laws of the land, and by the building of the New Geneva. These delays naturally giving time for the resentment of the Genevans to subside, many returned and took the oaths of allegiance to the new government.

To this circumstance must be added, the departure of Earl Temple, in May 1783, who was

² The total expense of the academy would, at the highest calculation, have amounted to L. 4554 per annum, and at a more moderate valuation to only L. 3924. For this sum forty-four professors, assistants, and masters would have been maintained; a public library established; and the expenses of a student, in the article of education, would not have exceeded L. 164, 18 s. for thirteen years, or about L. 12. per annum.

the great patron and promoter of the settlement; that the project, as it lost its novelty, gradually became less popular; that the few Genevans, who had prematurely landed in Ireland, although maintained at the public expense, yet were discontented, at not finding the new town prepared for their immediate reception; and that particularly, as those among the proposed emigrants who had most property had withdrawn their names; the remainder did not possess a sufficient capital to settle in a foreign country, and to establish an expensive branch of manufacture without still farther assistance.

In consequence of this deficiency, the Genevan commissioners petitioned to appropriate *L.* 10,000 of the *L.* 50,000 for the purpose of forming a capital. But, as that sum had been voted by parliament for other purposes, this petition was necessarily rejected; and the Genevans, in an address to the Duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant of Ireland, relinquished the settlement; and soon afterwards quitted that country.

L E T T E R 66.

Account of the late Tumults and Revolution of Geneva in 1789.

THE late revolution of 1789 having greatly changed the form of government established in 1782, and described in the former letter, I here submit to your perusal a short account of the

causes and termination of those tumults, which have been the means of restoring Geneva to its former liberty.

The edict of pacification passed in 1782 succeeded to a long series of dissensions between the popular and aristocratical parties. The three powers of France, Sardinia, and Berne, by whose dominions Geneva is encircled, beholding, with regret and displeasure, the flames of civil discord continually smothered, and continually bursting forth on the slightest occasion, had combined in order to settle a *fixed* and *permanent* constitution, and took such precautions as seemed calculated to prevent in future any effectual opposition to the government which they thought proper to establish. By the combined forces of the three powers the far greater part of the Genevans were compelled to submit to the most grievous conditions: the exile of their popular chiefs, the prohibition of carrying arms, and a foreign garrison quartered in barracks, at the entire disposal of government, formed the basis which supported the new constitution.

From that period a calm of a few years, almost unknown to the republic, succeeded; but it was a sullen and a lowering calm: the people were kept in order by the precaution of a military force, not calculated for a small republic; the taxes imposed for the maintenance of that military force, and for building barracks, were heavy, and their burden was felt the more, because they constantly reminded the Genevans of their humiliation and subjection.

During my subsequent visits to Geneva, in 1785 and the following year, I found an almost

general discontent prevailing among all parties; many of the Negatives disaffected; the Representatives submitting in silent and sullen despair; and the people without spirit and energy. The wisdom of many of the regulations passed in 1782 was overlooked, or forgotten; those only which annihilated the first principles of liberty were remembered; and almost the only sentiment which prevailed, was the sentiment of degradation, arising from the subjection of a free people to a military government.

In this state of affairs and general disaffection to the ruling party, many of the citizens secretly entertained hopes of another revolution; either founding their expectations on the embarrassed situation of France, or on the favorable disposition of the Great and Little Councils, the members of which had for some time fatally experienced many difficulties in supporting the authority of government. The minds of the greatest part were ready to take advantage of every incident likely to effect a change of government.

Such a general spirit of disaffection had gone forth among the people, that administration had been compelled to employ a military force in order to quell a tumult, which took its rise in the theatre on the 12th of December 1788.

The quelling of this tumult was only a temporary remedy; and the popular discontents broke out uncontrouled on the 26th of January, on account of the publication of an edict raising the price of bread a farthing in the pound. This augmentation, though justified by the scarcity of flour, and passed principally with a view to prevent the exportation of bread, was yet imprudently

laid on in the present temper of the people. An insurrection instantly took place; the bakers shops were pillaged, and on the following day a carriage laden with bread, and escorted by soldiers, was plundered in its way to the distribution office in the quarter of St. Gervais. The soldiers, firing at the populace killed one man and wounded another: the numbers and fury of the rioters increased; they drove away the troops, and carried the body of the deceased, in a kind of funeral procession, before the town-house, as a memorial of violence and oppression. The populace, roused to frenzy at this spectacle, attacked and occupied two gates of the city, and dangerously wounded the commanding officer, as he was endeavouring to restrain the ardor of his soldiers and the fury of the people.

In all tumults and insurrections the first moments are precious. The magistrates, instead of acting decisively, had lost them in deliberation; and the position of government became more and more embarrassing. On the present occasion it was necessary either to retake the gates, which had been occupied by the insurgents, or to confess, that the military force, by which they had hitherto kept the people in awe, was no longer capable of enforcing obedience. The military committee, charged with the command of the garrison for the security of the city, fluctuated between their duty to quell the insurrection, and their repugnance to shed the blood of their fellow-citizens. In this dilemma they hesitated for some time, and at length ordered two bodies of troops to force their passage over the two bridges of the Rhone which separate the quarter of St. Gervais

from the remainder of the city, and to retake the gate on the side of Switzerland. They flattered themselves, that the people would retire at the first appearance of a considerable body of soldiers. But it was now too late: the insurgents had already formed a strong barricade, behind which they played off two fire-pumps, filled with boiling water and soap-lees, against the extremities of each bridge; the cross fire of several small arms, which poured from the windows and tops of the adjacent houses, wounded several soldiers and killed the commanding officer; the pavement of the streets was torn up, and carried to the tops of the houses, in order to be hurled down upon the troops, if they forced the barricades and penetrated into the town. Meanwhile the tumult spread itself into the other parts of the city, and was in danger of becoming universal. In this state of affairs the magistrates, finding that they could not quell the insurrection without great effusion of blood, found themselves under the necessity of complying with the demands of the insurgents. One of the principal magistrates repaired in person to the quarter of St. Gervais, proclaimed an edict for lowering the price of bread, granted a general amnesty, and released all the insurgents that had been taken into custody. These concessions restored indeed a momentary calm; but produced the very effect they were intended to avoid. The leaders of the disaffected party, now convinced, either of the inability or unwillingness of government to employ a sufficient degree of force, and foreseeing that the moderation which had been just adopted must be continued, held themselves in readiness to take advantage of

any opportunity which presented itself of exciting or encouraging another insurrection, in order to effect a change of government, and a recovery of former privileges. Such an opportunity presented itself on the 29th of January, at the interment of a woman who had been casually killed by the discharge of the military in the tumult of the 26th. An immense concourse of people attended the funeral: and the magistrates imprudently ordered the garrison to be ranged and posted with cannon, for the security of the barracks and the city gates against any attempts of the multitude. The populace, believing that the garrison was drawn out in order to recommence hostilities, rose instantly, with one accord directed their fury against the soldiers, drove them from their posts, disarmed them, and took possession of the city gates without opposition.

This second tumult convinced the magistrates that all farther opposition was fruitless. For, as the generality of the citizens and burghers, instead of taking an active part in quelling the tumults, had rather seemed to countenance and encourage them, it was evident, that the loss of their liberties, and the humiliation to which they were reduced by the edict of 1782, had absorbed every sentiment of affection and reverence for an administration, which, however just and reasonable in its measures and conduct, was founded on the principles of despotism, and supported by force. Impressed with these considerations, and finding by experience that a military government was both inexpedient and ineffectual, the chiefs of the aristocratical party suddenly changed the system, by which they had been hitherto guided, and

renounced, by a very extraordinary revolution in their sentiments, that line of conduct to which they had before so obstinately adhered. They now felt, that in so small a republic, and with such new objects of ambition, the only permanent recompence of their political labors could be drawn from the esteem, attachment, and confidence of their fellow-citizens; they felt also, that, acting from that principle, the wisest conduct to be adopted on the present occasion was, to change a constitution which had been proved to be essentially defective; and which, while it abridged or annihilated the dearest rights and privileges of a freeborn subject, was ineffectual in maintaining itself by the usual companion of despotism, the terror of a military force. When therefore, the Solicitor General, in the name of the citizens and burghers, solicited the recovery of their ancient liberties, the permission of bearing arms, the re-establishment of the militia, and of their circles or political clubs, the removal of the garrison from the barracks, and the recal of the Representatives, who were banished in 1782; such moderate demands were received with complacency and even satisfaction.

The two parties, fatigued with past dissensions, and anxious to reunite in the common cause, consented to sacrifice something of their respective claims, and to use the power reserved to them in 1782, by the guaranties, of amending and changing the laws, by a majority of three-fourths. The preliminaries were settled without difficulty; a committee was appointed to revise and amend the edict of 1782; the new edict of pacification, under the title of *Modifications à l'Edit de 1782*,

were approved by the Senate, Great Council, and General Council. Such was the almost general unanimity with which this business was transacted, that in the assembly of the General Council which met on the 10th of February, the *modifications* were carried by 1321 suffrages against 52. The publication of the new edict was followed by the loudest acclamations and general rejoicings, and confirmed by the three guaranties.

The edict of 1782 is valid in all the articles which are not repealed or amended by the present *modifications*; or, to use the words of the present amendments, "The edict of the 21st of November 1782, with the modifications introduced by the present edict, and the political code published on the 13th of June 1783, shall be the fundamental law of the state, and shall form the complete collection of its political statutes."

The constitution is now wisely modelled into a mean between the too popular form established in 1768, and the too aristocratical form established in 1782.

The magistrates have consented to repeal the most obnoxious articles in the edict of 1782; which may be principally reduced to the following heads:

1. The garrison is subject, as before the edict of 1782, to the orders of the Senate, of the Syndic of the Guard, and of the members of the Great Council; and is to be no longer quartered in barracks. The garrison is to be gradually reduced to 600 men; but to be increased to 720, at the will of the Great Council. The officers are to be chosen by the Great Council, from the citizens, burghers, and natives.

2. The militia to be re-embodied, and the military exercises to be renewed. A regiment of volunteers to be formed from the citizens, burghers, natives, and inhabitants, under the orders of the Senate and Syndic of the Guard.

3. All citizens, burghers, natives, inhabitants, and subjects, are permitted to bear arms; all other persons dwelling in the city are prohibited from carrying fire-arms without permission.

4. The circles, or political clubs, are re-established; but are forbidden to deliberate or vote on the affairs of state or the operations of government.

5. Some additional powers are granted to the thirty-six adjuncts, which increase their importance, and consequently the weight of their representations.

6. All persons banished by the edict of 1782 are to be recalled, if the consent of the three powers can be obtained; and those, who were deprived of their burghership on account of refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the government established in 1782, are to be reinstated in their rights.

In return for these concessions on the part of the magistrates, the popular party consent to the articles in the edict of 1782, which abolished the right of re-election, and transferred the right of representation to the thirty-six adjuncts.

They have acted wisely in renouncing the right of re-election, that species of ostracism, and source of so much jealousy and suspicion, which principally occasioned the troubles that preceded the revolution of 1782. They have no less prudently consented to abolish the right of representation,

as it was vested, before the edict, in every citizen and burgher. The use, or rather the abuse of this right, occasioned frequent tumults and seditions, by the promiscuous assembling of a large number without order; and it was found to be a dangerous expedient to employ a multitude as an engine for political purposes.

By the edict of 1782 it was stipulated, in favor of the natives, that during the term of ten years five natives, and after the expiration of the said term, three natives, should be annually chosen burghers. On the present occasion a farther clause was added in their favor; that the burghership should be conferred on all natives of the fourth generation, when they shall have attained the proper age.

Time can only discover whether the present form of government will be more permanent than the former constitution; or whether a few years may not bring about another revolution. It bears, however, strong marks and characters of permanency, if we may augur from the present temper and disposition of the parties.

The alterations are just, reasonable, and even necessary.

It is the first time that all the orders of the state freely, and as it were unanimously, consented, and that scarcely the least disaffection or murmurs have followed. The revolution of 1768 was the triumph of the popular over the aristocratical party; and that of 1782, the still greater triumph of the aristocratical over the popular party. But the present change of the government was accompanied and followed by the triumph of neither party. It was formed by the coalition of both;
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it was the general sense of the whole republic united, in order to repeal what experience had shown to be defective and inconsistent with republican freedom in the edict of 1782; and to retain what experience had shown to be expedient and analogous to the spirit and principles of the constitution.

The pacification was instantly followed by marks of cordiality and attention, between the individuals of two parties, never before experienced. The sons of the principal Negatives have frequented the circles of the burghers; the magistrates, who could not be reproached with any abuse of their power since the edict of 1782, have obtained the confidence of the people from the moment that they renounced the support of a foreign garrison quartered in barracks, and expressed their resolution of intrusting the preservation of the state to the citizens, burghers, and natives.

No monument of that military force, so odious and yet so useless, will remain. The barracks of the town-house are already evacuated, and will be converted into a public library; the new barracks, built at an enormous expense, and more calculated for the garrison of a powerful and despotic kingdom than for a small and free common-wealth, will be converted into a building for the university. The reformation of the studies, which have scarcely received any alteration since the time of Calvin, is now in agitation. In a word, all things seem at present to conspire for the general good; and it is to be hoped that both parties, shocked at the recollection of past troubles, will continue on as friendly terms as the jealous nature of a free constitution will admit,

and not exhibit any more civil dissensions of such notoriety as to endanger the ruin of the republic; dissensions which have been hitherto, perhaps, almost unavoidable, but which, if renewed in future, will stamp indelible disgrace on the Genevans, as restless and unquiet spirits.

LETTER 67.

General Reflections.

HAVING, in the course of my former letters, communicated to you such observations as occurred to me during my tour through Switzerland, concerning the laws, government, and situation of each canton in particular; I will now lay before you a few concluding remarks, in relation to the state of that country in general.

No part of Europe contains, within the same compass, so many independent common-wealths, and such a variety of different governments, as are collected together in this remarkable and delightful country; and yet, with such wisdom was the Helvetic union composed, and so little have the Swiss, of late years, been actuated with the spirit of conquest, that since the firm and complete establishment of their general confederacy, they have seldom found occasion to employ their arms against a foreign enemy; and have been troubled with no civil commotions that were not soon happily terminated. Perhaps there is not a similar instance in ancient or modern history, of a warlike people, divided into little independent republics, closely bordering upon each other,

and occasionally interfering in their respective interests, having continued, during so long a period, in an almost uninterrupted state of tranquillity. And thus, while the several neighbouring kingdoms suffer, by turns, all the horrors of war, this favored nation enjoys the felicity of looking down with security upon the various tempests that shake the world around them.

But the happiness of a long peace, has neither broken the spirit, nor enervated the arm of the Swiss. The youth are diligently trained to martial exercises, such as running, wrestling, and shooting both with the cross-bow and the musket; a considerable number of well-disciplined troops are always employed in foreign services; and the whole people are enrolled, and regularly exercised in their respective militia. By these means they are capable of collecting a very respectable body of forces, which would prove formidable to any enemy who should invade their country, or attack their liberties. Thus, while most of the other states upon the continent are tending towards a military government, Switzerland alone has no standing armies; and yet, from the nature of its situation, from its particular alliances, and from the policy of its internal government, is more secure from invasion than any other European power.

The felicity of Switzerland, however, does not consist merely in this peculiar exemption from the burdens and miseries of war; as there is no country in which happiness and content more universally prevail among the people. For, whether the government is aristocratical, democratical, or mixed; a general spirit of liberty

pervades and actuates the several constitutions: even the oligarchical states, which are usually the most tyrannical, are here peculiarly mild; and the property of the subject is in general securely guarded against every kind of violation.

But one general defect prevails in the criminal jurisprudence of the country. For, although the Caroline code, as it is styled, or the code of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, forms in each of the republics the principal basis of their penal laws, with particular modifications and additions in different districts; yet much too great a latitude is allowed to the respective judges, who are less governed in their determinations by this code, or any other written law, than by the common principles of equity. How far long experience may have justified the prudence of trusting them with this extraordinary privilege, or how far the severity of the Caroline code renders it necessary, I cannot say; but discretionary powers of this kind, are undoubtedly liable to the most alarming abuse, and can never, without the greatest hazard, be committed to the hands of the magistrate.

Upon this occasion, I cannot forbear reflecting on the superior wisdom, in the present instance, as well as in many others, of our most invaluable constitution; and indeed, it is impossible for an Englishman to observe the governments of other countries, without becoming a warmer and more affectionate admirer of his own. In England, the life and liberty of the subject does not depend upon the arbitrary decision of his judge, but is secured by express laws, from which no magistrate can depart with impunity. This guarded precision, it is true, may occasionally,

perhaps, be attended with some inconveniences; but they are overbalanced by advantages of so much greater weight, as to be scarcely perceptible in the scales of justice. I do not mean, however, to throw any imputation upon the officers of criminal jurisdiction in Switzerland: as far as I could observe, they administer distributive justice with an impartial and equitable hand.

I remarked, with peculiar satisfaction, the excellent state of the prisons, and the humane precautions which the several legislatures have adopted in relation to felons: a circumstance that struck me the more forcibly, as the contrary is but too visible in England. In Switzerland, the criminals are confined in wholesome and separate wards; and instead of languishing in prison, to the great injury of their health, or total waste of their little remnant of money, are almost immediately brought to trial. In England, an accused person may be confined six months, or more, before his fate is determined: and if he is proved innocent, and should be in low circumstances; the loss of his time, together with the expenses of the jail-fees, may probably occasion his utter ruin; while his morals are in no less danger; by being compelled to associate with a set of abandoned wretches, lost to all sense of shame, and encouraging each other in their common profligacy. How much is it to be lamented, that, while our code of criminal jurisprudence is in general formed upon principles, which distinguish us with honor among the nations of Europe; that our courts of justice are thrown open to the view of all the world; and that we enjoy the inestimable and almost peculiar privilege of being tried by our equals; how

much (I cannot forbear repeating) is it to be lamented, that the same equitable and humane spirit should be found wanting in so important an article of our penal laws!

For a more particular account of the prisons in Switzerland, I would refer you to my friend Mr. Howard's publication ³ on the subject. In this work the benevolent author has given many melancholy instances, that the English jails are much inferior to foreign prisons in cleanliness and good government. He must, however, feel the most sensible satisfaction in finding, that his labors have already produced several advantageous regulations, particularly concerning the fees of prisoners who shall be acquitted, and the prevention of the gaol distemper. And although much still remains to be effected, yet it may justly be hoped, that the attention of the British Senate will be effectually fixed upon an object so highly deserving the care of every wise and humane legislature.

It is a matter of astonishment, as well as of concern, to find, that in a country where the true principles of civil government are so well understood and so generally adopted as in Switzerland, that the trial by torture is not yet abolished: for, in some particular cases, the suspected criminal is still put to the rack. The inefficacy, no less than the inhumanity, of endeavouring to extort the truth by the several horrid instruments which too ingenious cruelty has devised for that purpose, has been so often exposed by the ablest writers, that it would be equally impertinent and superfluous to

³ *Journal of the Prisons in England and Wales, &c. &c.*
 'Third Edition, 1784. And an account of some foreign prisons.

trouble you with any farther reflections upon the subject: and indeed, the whole firength of the several arguments urged upon this occasion, is comprised in the very just and pointed observation of the admirable la Bruyere, that *la question est une invention merveilleuse et tout-à-fait sûre, pour perdre un innocent qui a la complexion foible, et sauver un coupable qui est né robuste* ⁴. I cannot, however, but add, in justice to the Swifs, that zealous advocates have not been wanting among them for the total abolition of torture: but arguments of reason, and sentiments of humanity, have been found, even in this civilized and enlightened country, to avail little against inveterate custom and long-confirmed prejudices ⁵.

⁴ Caracteres, Vol. ii. p. 205.

⁵ Criminal justice is here, as in the greatest part of Europe, administered agreeably to the rules of the civil law. According to the maxims of that code, the criminal's confession is absolutely requisite for the infliction of capital punishment; and consequently, all those nations, which have not established a new code of criminal jurisprudence, retain the use of torture.

The present king of Prussia set the example, in Germany, of abolishing this inhuman practice; but few, perhaps, are apprized, that the first hint of this reformation was suggested to him by reading the History of England. For, one of the principal arguments in support of this method of extorting confession, being, that it affords the best means of discovering plots against government; the sagacious monarch remarked, that the British annals fully confute the fallacy of that reasoning. Few kingdoms, he observed, had abounded more in conspiracies and rebellions than England; and yet the leaders and abettors had been more successfully traced and discovered, without the use of torture, than in any country where it was practised. “*From thence,*” added this wise politician, “*I saw the absurdity of torture, and abolished it accordingly.*”

This anecdote, which I received from very respectable authority, bears the most honorable testimony to the

such powers thus interfering in a crisis so important to her own particular welfare, and to the general interests of the Helvetic union; and, as Zurich had prudently declined to take an active part against her ancient ally, stood forth with that firmness and decision which characterize all her councils, and joined her forces to the confederate armies of France and Sardinia.

Notwithstanding this powerful combination, and even in the midst of these threatening appearances, the Genevans continued to repair the ramparts with indefatigable ardor. The peasants of the territory flocked of their own accord, and without pay, to mount guard, and to work at the fortifications; women, of all ranks, crowded to the ramparts, as to a place of public amusement; encouraging and animating the men to persevere in their labor, and some even sharing in their fatigue assisted in transporting burdens, or in planting cannon on the bastions. In the midst of this almost universal confidence, a few prudent persons, who foresaw the impossibility of resistance, sighed in secret; but were obliged to disguise their real sentiments, and could not venture in public but with an air of hope, serenity, and fortitude.

Mean while the besiegers advancing on all sides, the three commanders held frequent consultations, and formed a general plan of attack. At length, on the 29th of June 1782, Mr. de Jaucourt dispatched a message to the Syndics; in which, after expatiating on the disinterested intentions of the king his master, and protesting that he respected the independence of the republic, and was only desirous of introducing good order, he added,

that if they would not admit his troops, and accept the following preliminaries of peace, he must force his way into the town. Among other conditions, he exacted, that no person should appear in the streets, under pain of military punishment; that a certain number of citizens, among whom were all the chiefs of the Representatives, should in twenty-four hours retire from Geneva; that all arms should be delivered to the three generals; that the deposed magistrates should be instantly re-established; and that a final answer should be returned in two hours. The generals Lentulus and de la Marmora respectively insisted on the same conditions.

It is impossible to express the rage, indignation, and despair, which these humiliating conditions excited at Geneva. Without the least deliberation every person resolved to perish rather than accept them; and the moment of danger had no other effect than to animate and rouse the courage of the besieged. While they hurried to the ramparts, and were preparing for resistance, the Syndics secretly obtained from the three generals a delay of twenty-four hours. In this interval not only the men of all ages prepared for defence; but even women and children tore the pavement from the streets, and carried the stones to the tops of the houses, in order to roll them down upon the enemy, in case they should force their way into the town.

Such was the general ardor; that about eighty women and girls, dressed in uniforms, offered to form themselves into a company, for the purpose of defending their country. The committee of safety accepted their services, and placed them in a

barrac, which by its situation was covered from the cannon of the besiegers. These amazons, with a spirit above their sex, refused a station that was not sufficiently exposed; and, as the town soon afterwards surrendered, they had no opportunity of proving their patriotism by a display of their valor.

All these various signs of the most determined resolution, flowing unanimously from every rank, age, and sex, alarmed the Negatives, who never had suspected, that the people would carry matters to such desperate extremities. Accordingly, their partisans conferred with the most moderate among the Representatives, in order to find some means of reconciliation; but without success.

At length the fatal hour arrived, in which the answer was to be returned: it was to expire at ten on Sunday morning; and at the first beat of the drum the ramparts were covered with defenders. Although the most zealous had only calculated on 3000, above 5000 made their appearance. They seemed to be all animated with one and the same spirit; and reminded each other of those brave citizens of Geneva, who by sacrificing their lives had repulsed, in 1602, the troops of Savoy, when the latter had treacherously scaled the walls during a profound peace. No one ventured even to hint at surrendering; and all awaited the attack with the most determined intrepidity. In this crisis, the French general, at the intercession of the Negatives, alarmed for the fate of the prisoners, again prolonged the period prescribed for the capitulation.

The first effect of these repeated delays was gradually to abate the enthusiasm of the women:

they could not but feel that they were wives and mothers ; and began to figure to themselves all the horrors of a town taken by assault, and a prey to a licentious and enraged soldiery. In the next place, timid and prudent persons could venture to conceal their fears under various pretences ; and at length the committee of safety, hitherto strenuous in enforcing the necessity of resistance, suddenly changed their resolution, but artfully disguised their sentiments from the public, until it was too late to prevent the surrender.

In the present ferment of passions and prejudices, if the leaders had openly proposed a surrender, they would have been considered as traitors ; they would only have endangered their own persons, and accelerated those calamities which they wished to avoid. For the purpose, therefore, of gradually bringing matters to the issue which they intended, they assembled the citizens in the respective circles ; and after warmly extolling their general zeal and patriotism, represented, that if the city should be attacked in the night, it would be no longer possible to convene them. For this reason they hinted, that it would be highly advantageous to the common cause, if each circle would nominate several deputies, with full authority to decide in their stead ; adding, that they ought rather to appoint those persons, who, from their age and respectable character, could assist their country by advice, while others were defending it by their valor.

This council, composed of about a hundred citizens, met at six in the evening, on the first of July, a few hours before the last term appointed for the surrender was about to expire. The chiefs

opened the debate with long speeches, in order to prepare the minds of the assembly for the object which they had in view. After having represented the state of the fortifications, which were judged by the most intelligent engineers to be only sufficient for resisting an attack by storm, and not for maintaining a siege of more than three or four days; they at length ventured to lay before them the necessity of an immediate surrender. On the bare mention of that word, the most violent of the assembly instantly burst into reproaches, and accused the committee with an intention of betraying the republic. They declared, that they would instantly announce to their fellow citizens the treachery of their deputies, who were not appointed to deliberate upon a surrender, but only upon the means of most effectual resistance. Apprehending the ill consequences of such a proceeding, one of the chiefs started from his seat, and barred the doors; while some of those who wished to retire, drew their swords, and shedding tears of despair, "To remain," they cried out, "a moment, was to share the treason, and to destroy their country." Every method was attempted to appease them: cries and exhortations were heard from all quarters.

At length, when the question concerning the surrender was proposed, a considerable majority voted for defending the city to the last extremity. On this determination, many of the most zealous, trusting to this decided majority, retired from the assembly, in order to prepare themselves for the hour of danger. Another consultation was then proposed by those who remained; the danger of dividing into parties, and of alienating the citizens

from their leaders, was represented in the strongest colors. These suggestions being attended with effect; long debates recommenced. One of the youngest in the assembly, being affected with the pathetic consideration of the distress of those widows and orphans, whose husbands and fathers should fall by the hand of the enemy, was of opinion, that only those who were unmarried, and who had no children, should be permitted to defend the ramparts. "We are not sufficient," he added; "to preserve the town from being taken; but enough to save our honor, and to obtain a less humiliating capitulation." He was interrupted by an elderly citizen, who claimed for fathers of families the glory of fighting for their country. "I have six sons," exclaimed he, with tears of exultation sparkling in his eyes, "and who shall prevent me from marching at their head to the ramparts?"

It was then proposed to conduct the hostages in the face of the French batteries, as a means of intimidating Mr. de Jaucourt from firing against the ramparts; for it was to be presumed, that he would not expose to certain destruction those magistrates whom he came to deliver. This opinion, which for a short time seemed likely to prevail, gave place to the more generous resolution of restoring the prisoners to liberty, permitting the Negatives to retire to the enemy's camp, and then of preparing for a vigorous resistance. It was urged, such a noble mode of proceeding, in so alarming a moment, would probably soften the resentment of the aristocratical party, and induce them to obtain from the French general more favorable terms of accommodation.

Many hours were consumed in discussing these various opinions. The fatal period approached: it was midnight; and the chiefs, who had now contrived to strike the greatest number with a panic; won over the assembly to their sentiments, by proposing a general emigration; and consoled them, in the midst of their despair, with the hopes of enjoying that liberty in another country, which they could no longer expect to find in their own.

A declaration being then drawn up, to be delivered to the Syndics at the same time with the keys of the city; the hostages were instantly conducted to their respective houses; the chiefs summoned the principal officers from their posts, ordered the cannon of several batteries to be rendered unfit for service, and at length provided for their own safety by retiring from the town before the entry of the confederate troops.

When the unexpected news of the surrender was announced to the public, they became frantic with despair. Some mutually embraced each other without uttering a single word; others loaded their chiefs with the most dreadful imprecations; while a few, still determined to resist, ineffectually summoned their fellow citizens by beat of drum to their standards. The greatest part, however, having discharged and broken their muskets, flung themselves with their faces to the ground, and lay motionless for a considerable time. At length a general retreat took place. The roads were covered with persons of both sexes, who fled hastily from the walls; and the Sardinians, who first entered the gates at five in the morning, found the city almost deserted.

The count de la Marmora, as if actuated by motives of compassion for the degraded situation of Geneva, marched in silence, and without an insulting display of military pomp; and, having occupied the town-house and the magazines for powder, visited in person the different quarters of the city, in order to dissipate all apprehensions of danger. About noon the two other commanders made their entry: they were accompanied by a large body of Negatives, and marched at the head of their respective troops, with drums beating and colors flying. Having joined the Sardinian forces, the three generals conducted the magistrates, lately delivered from prison, to the Great Council, and re-established them in their several charges, to the sound of martial music. The citizens were disarmed; each householder obliged to furnish the officers with quarters; the edict of the 6th of February 1781, which had conferred the burghership on above a hundred natives, was annulled. In the midst of these arrangements, the Great Council laid, with all due form, the foundation of a theatre: a troop of comedians was introduced; and the aristocratical party celebrated their triumph with balls, feasts, and every species of public diversion.

Mean while a committee appointed by the Great and Little Councils prepared, in concert with the three generals, an edict for new modelling the constitution, which being approved at the courts of Versailles and Turin, and by the canton of Berne, was confirmed by the Great and Little Councils. But as it annulled many considerable rights hitherto enjoyed by the citizens, it was not probable, that it would be ratified

by the General Council, in which the party of the Representatives had still a great majority. In order, therefore, to obtain its final confirmation, it was enacted, that, when the edict was laid before the General Council, those Representatives, who had taken up arms, should for that time be excluded; under pretence, that the insurrection had rendered them unworthy of exercising their rights; and it was added, that they might esteem themselves extremely fortunate in not being exposed to the utmost rigor of the laws.

Accordingly, on the 15th of November 1782, the members of the General Council assembled to the number of five hundred; above a thousand being excluded from giving their votes. And yet even this phantom of supreme power was surrounded with troops. Notwithstanding, however, the exclusion of so many, and the general panic, above a hundred Representatives, and even several Negatives, had the courage to reject the edict; which appeared to many, even among the Negatives, as establishing too rigorous an aristocracy.

The citizens of Geneva have incurred much ridicule and censure, for having so early and repeatedly expressed the most determined resolution never to surrender the town, and to resist until it was taken by assault. In a pamphlet, also, styled "*Lettre écrite des ramparts de Geneve*," the author combats all the arguments which might be urged in favor of a capitulation, and vehemently asserts, that he, as well as his fellow citizens, are resolved to defend the town to the last extremity, and rather to court death from the hands of the enemy than survive the extinction of their liberties. These assertions appeared mere ostentatious

vaunts, as the pamphlet was not printed and dispersed until after the surrender; and led the public to attribute vain-boasting and cowardice, which are usually united, as essential characteristics of the people of Geneva.

On reviewing, however, the history of the revolution with impartiality, it cannot admit a doubt; that the people were unanimously against a surrender; that, till within a few hours before the confederate troops entered the gates, they expected, and were prepared for, an assault; that they had intrusted the command to the committee of safety; that the latter, alarmed at the near approach of danger, had suddenly changed their opinion, had betrayed them into a surrender against their intentions, and without their knowledge, and had taken such precautions as rendered all resistance impracticable.

As the committee has been greatly censured for this sudden change of opinion; it is but justice to add, that of eleven members and several adjuncts, who composed the committee, two thirds voted against the surrender. But in fact, of what avail was resistance at this period? Upon a supposition that the siege could have been protracted for a few days; the kings of France and Sardinia, and the canton of Berne, had fresh troops ready to march; and in less than a week so large a reinforcement would have been collected before the gates of Geneva, that any further opposition must have been madness. In a word, the popular leaders acted wrong in buoying up the hopes of people, that resistance could be effectual; and by the reparation of the ramparts only served to inspire the public with a dangerous confidence, which they were not afterwards able to dissipate.

Such is the history of this extraordinary revolution; prepared for some time by the enmity of the two parties; occasioned by the impolitic tho' just demand of a code of laws; hastened by the two insurrections; and completed by the intrigues and arms of France. It must be acknowledged, that the Representatives, or popular party, acted in a most imprudent as well as unconstitutional manner; and particularly, that no excuse can be admitted for the second insurrection, and the imprisonment of the magistrates. The Representatives, by the edict of 1768, possessed great privileges, which in time would have placed in their hands the whole administration of government. As the greatest number in the General Assembly, they enjoyed the right of annually excluding four members from the Senate, and of filling half the vacancies in the Great Council; they must, therefore, in a few years, have inevitably obtained a decided majority. The most prudent among them saw this advantage, and were contented; but the greater part, and perhaps a few of their leaders, eager to grasp immediately that power, of which they had only a distant prospect, precipitated measures; and acting, in a few instances, diametrically opposite to the first principles of their constitution, hastened its destruction. It must, at the same time, be confessed, that however imprudently or unconstitutionally the Representatives acted, yet that the Negatives, secure of support from the Court of Versailles, seemed to carry their confidence in their own strength to such a degree, as almost to court the troubles which ensued; and that they have availed themselves of their victory to a degree only to be palliated by absolute necessity.

necessity. A new form of government introduced by force, must be supported by force; by calling in the assistance of France, they must be entirely submissive to that power; and by annihilating the first principles of liberty, in disarming the citizens and forbidding all public meetings, they are in danger of extinguishing that spirit of emulation and energy for which the Genevans have long been distinguished. Having established a rigorous aristocracy, they must necessarily adopt that jealousy and suspicion which not unfrequently characterizes the magistrates under that species of government: and the only question now remaining, is, Whether the above-mentioned spirit of emulation and energy will be diminished by the change of constitution; and if so, whether that diminution will be counterbalanced by the introduction of a greater degree of tranquillity than is usually to be found in democratical states?

The changes in the form of government, introduced by this revolution, are principally comprised in the following articles.

1. The power granted in 1768 to the General Council, of re-election, or of annually excluding four members from the Senate, is abolished.

2. The privilege enjoyed by the same assembly, of nominating half the vacancies in the Great Council, is likewise annulled; and that body is now supplied by the Senate and Great Council, according to the following complicated mode of election: — In case of sixteen vacancies, the Great Council selects eight members from sixteen candidates proposed by the Senate; and in like manner the Senate chooses eight from the same

number of candidates appointed by the Great Council.

3. The right of *representation*, or remonstrating, is taken from the citizens at large, and transferred to thirty-six adjuncts, who may be present in the Great Council, on the first Monday of each month: they enjoy the privilege of making representations, and in that case have a deliberative voice. But, as they are removable every year; and are drawn by lot from all the citizens in general, who may chuse to present themselves as candidates; they are considered as so extremely dependent on the will of the magistrates, and their representations have such little weight, that they are called in derision, *Les Images*, or The Shadows.

4. The introduction of the *grabeau*, or annual confirmation of the members of the Senate, and of the Great Council, exclusively vested in the last-mentioned body. This law, which may be considered as the basis of the new constitution, has transferred to the Great Council part of the authority both of the Senate and of the General Council. By subjecting the Senate to this annual revision, it has rendered that body greatly dependent on the Great Council, which by the present constitution is become, what the Senate was according to the form of government established in 1738 and 1768, the centre of the aristocracy.

5. The circles, or clubs, in which the citizens used to be convened, and all public assemblies⁹,

⁹ One instance of the ill effects arising from this prohibition, fell under my observation: The society of Arts in Geneva, many of whose members are persons of great abilities and

are prohibited; and they are only allowed to meet at coffee-houses. This prohibition was at first carried to an extreme degree of jealousy, highly derogatory from every principle of free government; but lately it has been somewhat modified; and assemblies are permitted to be held in the country, though not within the walls of Geneva.

6. The militia is abolished; firing at marks, even with bows and arrows, prohibited; and the guard of the town, instead of being consigned to the citizens, is intrusted to a garrison of 1000 foreign soldiers, whose colonel and major are both foreigners: these troops take an oath of fidelity to the republic, and of obedience to the Great Council, and to the Committee of War; they are under the immediate command and inspection of the latter, and subject to the superior control of the former. This garrison may be augmented to 1200, and reduced to 800 men, at the will of the Great Council;

learning, has already given to the world several interesting publications. But as all public assemblies are prohibited, government was suspicious lest this literary society should indulge itself in political questions; and accordingly no meeting has been held since the late revolution. Indeed, when I was at Geneva, it was then in agitation to suffer the society to assemble; but it was very uncertain whether this permission would be granted; and if granted, whether it would not be greatly fettered by the diminution of the number of its members, and by several other restrictions, incompatible with the freedom of literary disquisitions. It is a matter of little consequence to Europe in general, whether the government of Geneva is more or less aristocratical or democratical; but it is an object of general importance, whether a literary society should be prevented, by political jealousy, from holding those assemblies, which will afford a means and opportunity of continuing to supply the world with learned and interesting publications.

but cannot be further enlarged or diminished without the consent of the General Council.

7. No citizen, native, or inhabitant, is permitted to have arms. It is not unworthy of remark on this article, that although by the ancient constitution every citizen was obliged to provide himself with arms, under a certain penalty; yet, that when these were delivered up, government did not reimburse the expense.

8. Several taxes were imposed without the consent of the General Council; but for the future, every change or augmentation of the revenue must be submitted to that body.

9. Various privileges, respecting the equal rights to trade and commerce, formerly possessed by the citizens alone, have been conferred on the natives and inhabitants; a liberal concession, to which both parties willingly acceded.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE Genevans seemed so greatly to deplore the diminution of that liberty to which they had long been accustomed, and to which they ascribed the late remarkable increase of their population and riches, that if we had judged from the discontents and consternation of the citizens, we might have concluded the change of government would have been followed by an almost general emigration. The event, however, has not justified this conclusion. Excepting the principal leaders, those of the popular party who were banished, and a few others who renounced their country in compliance with their political principles; the greatest part of the emigrants returned, and again

settled in the place of their nativity. And perhaps it may be affirmed with truth, that the late revolution has scarcely driven six hundred persons from Geneva.

The emigrants have principally established themselves at Brussels and Constance¹; where they have introduced manufactures of printed linens and watch-making.

I cannot quit this subject without recalling to your recollection, the plan for giving an asylum to the Genevan emigrants in Ireland, which so long engaged the public attention.

Soon after the revolution, a memorial signed by above a thousand Genevans of both sexes, who were either persons of some property, or versed in trade or manufactures, expressing a desire of settling in Ireland, was presented to Earl Temple (now Marquis of Buckingham) then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His Excellency, conscious of the advantage which must result to Ireland from the reception of so many industrious artists, many of whom possessed property in the English, Irish, and French funds, communicated, on the 27th of September 1782, the proposal to the Privy Council of Ireland for giving an asylum to the Genevan emigrants. This proposal, patronized by the Lord Lieutenant, and unanimously consented to by the Privy Council, was approved by the King. The nobility and gentry of Ireland seemed to vie with each other in countenancing the settlement; the Irish parliament voted L.50,000 towards defraying the expenses of their journey, and building a town for their reception; lands

¹ See Letter 3.

were purchased for L. 8000 in a convenient situation near Waterford; part of the New Geneva was actually completed, at the expense of L. 10,000; a charter was granted with very considerable privileges; the standard of gold was altered for the accommodation of the watch manufacturers; the foundation of an academy approved, upon a useful, extensive, and œconomical plan²; in July 1783, several Genevans landed in Ireland; and when the nation had expended near L. 30,000, the project was suddenly relinquished, and the settlement finally abandoned.

The failure of this project may be principally attributed to the following cause. — If the settlement could have been immediately carried into execution, the Genevans would have emigrated in very considerable numbers; but many necessary delays were occasioned by the arrangement of so complicated a plan, by the high demands of the Genevan commissioners, who, in drawing up the charter, required many privileges which were contradictory to the laws of the land, and by the building of the New Geneva. These delays naturally giving time for the resentment of the Genevans to subside, many returned and took the oaths of allegiance to the new government.

To this circumstance must be added, the departure of Earl Temple, in May 1783, who was

² The total expense of the academy would, at the highest calculation, have amounted to L. 4554 per annum, and at a more moderate valuation to only L. 3924. For this sum forty-four professors, assistants, and masters would have been maintained; a public library established; and the expenses of a student, in the article of education, would not have exceeded L. 164. 18 s. for thirteen years, or about L. 12. per annum.

the great patron and promoter of the settlement; that the project, as it lost its novelty, gradually became less popular; that the few Genevans, who had prematurely landed in Ireland, although maintained at the public expense, yet were discontented, at not finding the new town prepared for their immediate reception; and that particularly, as those among the proposed emigrants who had most property had withdrawn their names; the remainder did not possess a sufficient capital to settle in a foreign country, and to establish an expensive branch of manufacture without still farther assistance.

In consequence of this deficiency, the Genevan commissioners petitioned to appropriate *L.* 10,000 of the *L.* 50,000 for the purpose of forming a capital. But, as that sum had been voted by parliament for other purposes, this petition was necessarily rejected; and the Genevans, in an address to the Duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant of Ireland, relinquished the settlement; and soon afterwards quitted that country.

L E T T E R 66.

Account of the late Tumults and Revolution of Geneva in 1789.

THE late revolution of 1789 having greatly changed the form of government established in 1782, and described in the former letter, I here submit to your perusal a short account of the

causes and termination of those tumults, which have been the means of restoring Geneva to its former liberty.

The edict of pacification passed in 1782 succeeded to a long series of dissensions between the popular and aristocratical parties. The three powers of France, Sardinia, and Berne, by whose dominions Geneva is encircled, beholding, with regret and displeasure, the flames of civil discord continually smothered, and continually bursting forth on the slightest occasion, had combined in order to settle a *fixed* and *permanent* constitution, and took such precautions as seemed calculated to prevent in future any effectual opposition to the government which they thought proper to establish. By the combined forces of the three powers the far greater part of the Genevans were compelled to submit to the most grievous conditions: the exile of their popular chiefs, the prohibition of carrying arms, and a foreign garrison quartered in barracks, at the entire disposal of government, formed the basis which supported the new constitution.

From that period a calm of a few years, almost unknown to the republic, succeeded; but it was a sullen and a lowering calm: the people were kept in order by the precaution of a military force, not calculated for a small republic; the taxes imposed for the maintenance of that military force, and for building barracks, were heavy, and their burden was felt the more, because they constantly reminded the Genevans of their humiliation and subjection.

During my subsequent visits to Geneva, in 1785 and the following year, I found an almost

general discontent prevailing among all parties; many of the Negatives disaffected; the Representatives submitting in silent and sullen despair; and the people without spirit and energy. The wisdom of many of the regulations passed in 1782 was overlooked, or forgotten; those only which annihilated the first principles of liberty were remembered; and almost the only sentiment which prevailed, was the sentiment of degradation, arising from the subjection of a free people to a military government.

In this state of affairs and general disaffection to the ruling party, many of the citizens secretly entertained hopes of another revolution; either founding their expectations on the embarrassed situation of France, or on the favorable disposition of the Great and Little Councils, the members of which had for some time fatally experienced many difficulties in supporting the authority of government. The minds of the greatest part were ready to take advantage of every incident likely to effect a change of government.

Such a general spirit of disaffection had gone forth among the people, that administration had been compelled to employ a military force in order to quell a tumult, which took its rise in the theatre on the 12th of December 1788.

The quelling of this tumult was only a temporary remedy; and the popular discontents broke out uncontrouled on the 26th of January, on account of the publication of an edict raising the price of bread a farthing in the pound. This augmentation, though justified by the scarcity of flour, and passed principally with a view to prevent the exportation of bread, was yet imprudently

laid on in the present temper of the people. An insurrection instantly took place; the bakers shops were pillaged, and on the following day a carriage laden with bread, and escorted by soldiers, was plundered in its way to the distribution office in the quarter of St. Gervais. The soldiers, firing at the populace killed one man and wounded another: the numbers and fury of the rioters increased; they drove away the troops, and carried the body of the deceased, in a kind of funeral procession, before the town-house, as a memorial of violence and oppression. The populace, roused to frenzy at this spectacle, attacked and occupied two gates of the city, and dangerously wounded the commanding officer, as he was endeavouring to restrain the ardor of his soldiers and the fury of the people.

In all tumults and insurrections the first moments are precious. The magistrates, instead of acting decisively, had lost them in deliberation; and the position of government became more and more embarrassing. On the present occasion it was necessary either to retake the gates, which had been occupied by the insurgents, or to confess, that the military force, by which they had hitherto kept the people in awe, was no longer capable of enforcing obedience. The military committee, charged with the command of the garrison for the security of the city, fluctuated between their duty to quell the insurrection, and their repugnance to shed the blood of their fellow-citizens. In this dilemma they hesitated for some time, and at length ordered two bodies of troops to force their passage over the two bridges of the Rhone which separate the quarter of St. Gervais

from the remainder of the city, and to retake the gate on the side of Switzerland. They flattered themselves, that the people would retire at the first appearance of a considerable body of soldiers. But it was now too late: the insurgents had already formed a strong barricade, behind which they played off two fire-pumps, filled with boiling water and soap-lees, against the extremities of each bridge; the cross fire of several small arms, which poured from the windows and tops of the adjacent houses, wounded several soldiers and killed the commanding officer; the pavement of the streets was torn up, and carried to the tops of the houses, in order to be hurled down upon the troops, if they forced the barricades and penetrated into the town. Meanwhile the tumult spread itself into the other parts of the city, and was in danger of becoming universal. In this state of affairs the magistrates, finding that they could not quell the insurrection without great effusion of blood, found themselves under the necessity of complying with the demands of the insurgents. One of the principal magistrates repaired in person to the quarter of St. Gervais, proclaimed an edict for lowering the price of bread, granted a general amnesty, and released all the insurgents that had been taken into custody. These concessions restored indeed a momentary calm; but produced the very effect they were intended to avoid. The leaders of the disaffected party, now convinced, either of the inability or unwillingness of government to employ a sufficient degree of force, and foreseeing that the moderation which had been just adopted must be continued, held themselves in readiness to take advantage of

any opportunity which presented itself of exciting or encouraging another insurrection, in order to effect a change of government, and a recovery of former privileges. Such an opportunity presented itself on the 29th of January, at the interment of a woman who had been casually killed by the discharge of the military in the tumult of the 26th. An immense concourse of people attended the funeral: and the magistrates imprudently ordered the garrison to be ranged and posted with cannon, for the security of the barracks and the city gates against any attempts of the multitude. The populace, believing that the garrison was drawn out in order to recommence hostilities, rose instantly, with one accord directed their fury against the soldiers, drove them from their posts, disarmed them, and took possession of the city gates without opposition.

This second tumult convinced the magistrates that all farther opposition was fruitless. For, as the generality of the citizens and burghers, instead of taking an active part in quelling the tumults, had rather seemed to countenance and encourage them, it was evident, that the loss of their liberties, and the humiliation to which they were reduced by the edict of 1782, had absorbed every sentiment of affection and reverence for an administration, which, however just and reasonable in its measures and conduct, was founded on the principles of despotism, and supported by force. Impressed with these considerations, and finding by experience that a military government was both inexpedient and ineffectual, the chiefs of the aristocratical party suddenly changed the system, by which they had been hitherto guided, and

renounced, by a very extraordinary revolution in their sentiments, that line of conduct to which they had before so obstinately adhered. They now felt, that in so small a republic, and with such new objects of ambition, the only permanent recompence of their political labors could be drawn from the esteem, attachment, and confidence of their fellow-citizens; they felt also, that, acting from that principle, the wisest conduct to be adopted on the present occasion was, to change a constitution which had been proved to be essentially defective; and which, while it abridged or annihilated the dearest rights and privileges of a freeborn subject, was ineffectual in maintaining itself by the usual companion of despotism, the terror of a military force. When therefore, the Solicitor General, in the name of the citizens and burghers, solicited the recovery of their ancient liberties, the permission of bearing arms, the re-establishment of the militia, and of their circles or political clubs, the removal of the garrison from the barracks, and the recal of the Representatives, who were banished in 1782; such moderate demands were received with complacency and even satisfaction.

The two parties, fatigued with past dissensions, and anxious to reunite in the common cause, consented to sacrifice something of their respective claims, and to use the power reserved to them in 1782, by the guaranties, of amending and changing the laws, by a majority of three-fourths. The preliminaries were settled without difficulty; a committee was appointed to revise and amend the edict of 1782; the new edict of pacification, under the title of *Modifications à l'Edit de 1782*,

were approved by the Senate, Great Council, and General Council. Such was the almost general unanimity with which this business was transacted, that in the assembly of the General Council which met on the 10th of February, the *modifications* were carried by 1321 suffrages against 52. The publication of the new edict was followed by the loudest acclamations and general rejoicings, and confirmed by the three guaranties.

The edict of 1782 is valid in all the articles which are not repealed or amended by the present *modifications*; or, to use the words of the present amendments, "The edict of the 21st of November 1782, with the modifications introduced by the present edict, and the political code published on the 13th of June 1783, shall be the fundamental law of the state, and shall form the complete collection of its political statutes."

The constitution is now wisely modelled into a mean between the too popular form established in 1768, and the too aristocratical form established in 1782.

The magistrates have consented to repeal the most obnoxious articles in the edict of 1782; which may be principally reduced to the following heads:

1. The garrison is subject, as before the edict of 1782, to the orders of the Senate, of the Syndic of the Guard, and of the members of the Great Council; and is to be no longer quartered in barracks. The garrison is to be gradually reduced to 600 men; but to be increased to 720, at the will of the Great Council. The officers are to be chosen by the Great Council, from the citizens, burghers, and natives.

2. The militia to be re-embodied, and the military exercises to be renewed. A regiment of volunteers to be formed from the citizens, burghers, natives, and inhabitants, under the orders of the Senate and Syndic of the Guard.

3. All citizens, burghers, natives, inhabitants, and subjects, are permitted to bear arms; all other persons dwelling in the city are prohibited from carrying fire-arms without permission.

4. The circles, or political clubs, are re-established; but are forbidden to deliberate or vote on the affairs of state or the operations of government.

5. Some additional powers are granted to the thirty-six adjuncts, which increase their importance, and consequently the weight of their representations.

6. All persons banished by the edict of 1782 are to be recalled, if the consent of the three powers can be obtained; and those, who were deprived of their burghership on account of refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the government established in 1782, are to be reinstated in their rights.

In return for these concessions on the part of the magistrates, the popular party consent to the articles in the edict of 1782, which abolished the right of re-election, and transferred the right of representation to the thirty-six adjuncts.

They have acted wisely in renouncing the right of re-election, that species of ostracism, and source of so much jealousy and suspicion, which principally occasioned the troubles that preceded the revolution of 1782. They have no less prudently consented to abolish the right of representation,

as it was vested, before the edict, in every citizen and burgher. The use, or rather the abuse of this right, occasioned frequent tumults and seditions, by the promiscuous assembling of a large number without order; and it was found to be a dangerous expedient to employ a multitude as an engine for political purposes.

By the edict of 1782 it was stipulated, in favor of the natives, that during the term of ten years five natives, and after the expiration of the said term, three natives, should be annually chosen burghers. On the present occasion a farther clause was added in their favor; that the burghership should be conferred on all natives of the fourth generation, when they shall have attained the proper age.

Time can only discover whether the present form of government will be more permanent than the former constitution; or whether a few years may not bring about another revolution. It bears, however, strong marks and characters of permanency, if we may augur from the present temper and disposition of the parties.

The alterations are just, reasonable, and even necessary.

It is the first time that all the orders of the state freely, and as it were unanimously, consented, and that scarcely the least disaffection or murmurs have followed. The revolution of 1768 was the triumph of the popular over the aristocratical party; and that of 1782, the still greater triumph of the aristocratical over the popular party. But the present change of the government was accompanied and followed by the triumph of neither party. It was formed by the coalition of both;
it

it was the general sense of the whole republic united, in order to repeal what experience had shown to be defective and inconsistent with republican freedom in the edict of 1782; and to retain what experience had shown to be expedient and analogous to the spirit and principles of the constitution.

The pacification was instantly followed by marks of cordiality and attention, between the individuals of two parties, never before experienced. The sons of the principal Negatives have frequented the circles of the burghers; the magistrates, who could not be reproached with any abuse of their power since the edict of 1782, have obtained the confidence of the people from the moment that they renounced the support of a foreign garrison quartered in barracks, and expressed their resolution of intrusting the preservation of the state to the citizens, burghers, and natives.

No monument of that military force, so odious and yet so useless, will remain. The barracks of the town-house are already evacuated, and will be converted into a public library; the new barracks, built at an enormous expense, and more calculated for the garrison of a powerful and despotic kingdom than for a small and free common-wealth, will be converted into a building for the university. The reformation of the studies, which have scarcely received any alteration since the time of Calvin, is now in agitation. In a word, all things seem at present to conspire for the general good; and it is to be hoped that both parties, shocked at the recollection of past troubles, will continue on as friendly terms as the jealous nature of a free constitution will admit,

and not exhibit any more civil diffensions of such notoriety as to endanger the ruin of the republic; diffensions which have been hitherto, perhaps, almost unavoidable, but which, if renewed in future, will stamp indelible disgrace on the Genevans, as restless and unquiet spirits.

LETTER 67.

General Reflections.

HAVING, in the course of my former letters, communicated to you such observations as occurred to me during my tour through Switzerland, concerning the laws, government, and situation of each canton in particular; I will now lay before you a few concluding remarks, in relation to the state of that country in general.

No part of Europe contains, within the same compass, so many independent common-wealths, and such a variety of different governments, as are collected together in this remarkable and delightful country; and yet, with such wisdom was the Helvetic union composed, and so little have the Swiss, of late years, been actuated with the spirit of conquest, that since the firm and complete establishment of their general confederacy, they have seldom found occasion to employ their arms against a foreign enemy; and have been troubled with no civil commotions that were not soon happily terminated. Perhaps there is not a similar instance in ancient or modern history, of a warlike people, divided into little independent republics, closely bordering upon each other,

and occasionally interfering in their respective interests, having continued, during so long a period, in an almost uninterrupted state of tranquillity. And thus, while the several neighbouring kingdoms suffer, by turns, all the horrors of war, this favored nation enjoys the felicity of looking down with security upon the various tempests that shake the world around them.

But the happiness of a long peace, has neither broken the spirit, nor enervated the arm of the Swiss. The youth are diligently trained to martial exercises, such as running, wrestling, and shooting both with the cross-bow and the musket; a considerable number of well-disciplined troops are always employed in foreign services; and the whole people are enrolled, and regularly exercised in their respective militia. By these means they are capable of collecting a very respectable body of forces, which would prove formidable to any enemy who should invade their country, or attack their liberties. Thus, while most of the other states upon the continent are tending towards a military government, Switzerland alone has no standing armies; and yet, from the nature of its situation, from its particular alliances, and from the policy of its internal government, is more secure from invasion than any other European power.

The felicity of Switzerland, however, does not consist merely in this peculiar exemption from the burdens and miseries of war; as there is no country in which happiness and content more universally prevail among the people. For, whether the government is aristocratical, democratical, or mixed; a general spirit of liberty

pervades and actuates the several constitutions: even the oligarchical states, which are usually the most tyrannical, are here peculiarly mild; and the property of the subject is in general securely guarded against every kind of violation.

But one general defect prevails in the criminal jurisprudence of the country. For, although the Caroline code, as it is styled, or the code of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, forms in each of the republics the principal basis of their penal laws, with particular modifications and additions in different districts; yet much too great a latitude is allowed to the respective judges, who are less governed in their determinations by this code, or any other written law, than by the common principles of equity. How far long experience may have justified the prudence of trusting them with this extraordinary privilege, or how far the severity of the Caroline code renders it necessary, I cannot say; but discretionary powers of this kind, are undoubtedly liable to the most alarming abuse, and can never, without the greatest hazard, be committed to the hands of the magistrate.

Upon this occasion, I cannot forbear reflecting on the superior wisdom, in the present instance, as well as in many others, of our most invaluable constitution; and indeed, it is impossible for an Englishman to observe the governments of other countries, without becoming a warmer and more affectionate admirer of his own. In England, the life and liberty of the subject does not depend upon the arbitrary decision of his judge, but is secured by express laws, from which no magistrate can depart with impunity. This guarded precision, it is true, may occasionally,

perhaps, be attended with some inconveniences; but they are overbalanced by advantages of so much greater weight, as to be scarcely perceptible in the scales of justice. I do not mean, however, to throw any imputation upon the officers of criminal jurisdiction in Switzerland: as far as I could observe, they administer distributive justice with an impartial and equitable hand.

I remarked, with peculiar satisfaction, the excellent state of the prisons, and the humane precautions which the several legislatures have adopted in relation to felons: a circumstance that struck me the more forcibly, as the contrary is but too visible in England. In Switzerland, the criminals are confined in wholesome and separate wards; and instead of languishing in prison, to the great injury of their health, or total waste of their little remnant of money, are almost immediately brought to trial. In England, an accused person may be confined six months, or more, before his fate is determined: and if he is proved innocent, and should be in low circumstances; the loss of his time, together with the expenses of the jail-fees, may probably occasion his utter ruin; while his morals are in no less danger; by being compelled to associate with a set of abandoned wretches, lost to all sense of shame, and encouraging each other in their common profligacy. How much is it to be lamented, that, while our code of criminal jurisprudence is in general formed upon principles, which distinguish us with honor among the nations of Europe; that our courts of justice are thrown open to the view of all the world; and that we enjoy the inestimable and almost peculiar privilege of being tried by our equals; how

much (I cannot forbear repeating) is it to be lamented, that the same equitable and humane spirit should be found wanting in so important an article of our penal laws!

For a more particular account of the prisons in Switzerland, I would refer you to my friend Mr. Howard's publication³ on the subject. In this work the benevolent author has given many melancholy instances, that the English jails are much inferior to foreign prisons in cleanliness and good government. He must, however, feel the most sensible satisfaction in finding, that his labors have already produced several advantageous regulations, particularly concerning the fees of prisoners who shall be acquitted, and the prevention of the gaol distemper. And although much still remains to be effected, yet it may justly be hoped, that the attention of the British Senate will be effectually fixed upon an object so highly deserving the care of every wise and humane legislature.

It is a matter of astonishment, as well as of concern, to find, that in a country where the true principles of civil government are so well understood and so generally adopted as in Switzerland, that the trial by torture is not yet abolished: for, in some particular cases, the suspected criminal is still put to the rack. The inefficacy, no less than the inhumanity, of endeavouring to extort the truth by the several horrid instruments which too ingenious cruelty has devised for that purpose, has been so often exposed by the ablest writers, that it would be equally impertinent and superfluous to

³ The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, &c. &c. Third edition, 1784. And an account of some foreign prisons.

trouble you with any farther reflections upon the subject: and indeed, the whole firength of the several arguments urged upon this occasion, is comprised in the very just and pointed observation of the admirable la Bruyere, that *la question est une invention merveilleuse et tout-à-fait sûre, pour perdre un innocent qui a la complexion foible, et sauver un coupable qui est né robuste* ⁴. I cannot, however, but add, in justice to the Swifs, that zealous advocates have not been wanting among them for the total abolition of torture: but arguments of reason, and sentiments of humanity, have been found, even in this civilized and enlightened country, to avail little against inveterate custom and long-confirmed prejudices ⁵.

⁴ Caracteres, Vol. ii. p. 205.

⁵ Criminal justice is here, as in the greatest part of Europe, administered agreeably to the rules of the civil law. According to the maxims of that code, the criminal's confession is absolutely requisite for the infliction of capital punishment; and consequently, all those nations, which have not established a new code of criminal jurisprudence, retain the use of torture.

The present king of Prussia set the example, in Germany, of abolishing this inhuman practice; but few, perhaps, are apprized, that the first hint of this reformation was suggested to him by reading the History of England. For, one of the principal arguments in support of this method of extorting confession, being, that it affords the best means of discovering plots against government; the sagacious monarch remarked, that the British annals fully confute the fallacy of that reasoning. Few kingdoms, he observed, had abounded more in conspiracies and rebellions than England; and yet the leaders and abettors had been more successfully traced and discovered, without the use of torture, than in any country where it was practised. "From thence," added this wise politician, "I saw the absurdity of torture, and abolished it accordingly."

This anecdote, which I received from very respectable authority, bears the most honorable testimony to the

During my subsequent expeditions into Switzerland in 1785 and 1786, I was extremely happy to find, that the absurdity as well as inhumanity of torture was more generally admitted. It has long been suppressed in Geneva; in many of the aristocratical cantons it is virtually, though not formally abandoned; and, as I have before had occasion to observe ⁶, its public abolition in Berne forms a distinguished era in the history of Swiss jurisprudence, and, it is to be hoped, is the prelude to its total disuse throughout Switzerland.

Learning is less generally diffused among the catholic than the protestant states: but in both, a man of letters will find abundant opportunities of gratifying his researches and improving his knowledge. To the natural philosopher, Switzerland will afford an inexhaustible source of entertainment and information, as well from the great variety of physical curiosities so plentifully spread over the country, as from the considerable number of persons eminently skilled in that branch of science. Indeed in every town, and almost in every village, the curious traveller will meet with collections worthy of his attention.

With respect to agriculture; there are, perhaps, few countries, wherein the advantageous effects of unwearied and persevering industry are more remarkably conspicuous. In travelling over the mountainous parts of Switzerland, I was struck with admiration and astonishment, to observe rocks, that were formerly barren, now planted

efficacy as well as the mildness of our penal laws, and to the superior excellency of the process observed in our courts of criminal justice.

⁶ Letter 56.

with vines, or abounding in rich pasture; and at marking the traces of the plough along the sides of the steepest declivities. In a word, the inhabitants seem to have surmounted every obstruction of soil, situation, and climate; and to have spread fertility over various spots, which nature seemed to have consigned to everlasting barrenness. In fine, a general simplicity of manners, an open and unaffected frankness, together with an invincible spirit of freedom, may justly be mentioned, in the number of those peculiar qualities which dignify the public character of this people; and distinguish them with honor among the nations of Europe.

I have now laid before you the principal observations which occurred to me in my journey through Switzerland: happy! if they may in any respect have contributed to your information or amusement. They were originally intended merely as a private memorial of friendship; but I have an additional satisfaction in this opportunity of publicly testifying the sincere esteem and regard with which I am, &c.

LETTER 68.

Como — Mendrisio — Lake of Como — Pliniana — Fort of Fuentes — Laghetto di Chiavenna — Entrance into the Country of the Grisons.

Chiavenna, July 21st 1779.

DEAR SIR,

SINCE I travelled over part of Switzerland, I have been desirous to make a tour through the remainder of that country, particularly to visit the Grisons; and, as I am now returning to England, I shall take the opportunity of indulging my curiosity. In the mean time, I propose the satisfaction of continuing to send you, on this as on the former occasion, all the information and intelligence I am able to procure.

I quitted Milan last week, and proceeded through a gently rising country, well wooded and fertile in corn and vines, to Como. This town being the birth-place of Pliny the younger, the inhabitants have placed his statue in a niche on the outside of the church, with a Latin inscription bearing the date of 1499.

I need not remind you, with how much rapture and enthusiasm Pliny mentions the delightful situation of his native town, and the romantic scenery of the environs, in those letters, of which you have given to the public so accurate and elegant a translation.

Como is indeed most pleasantly situated, in a narrow vale, enclosed by fertile hills, upon the

southern extremity of the beautiful lake which bears the same name. The town is surrounded by a wall guarded with picturesque towers, and backed by a conical eminence, on which stand the ruins of an ancient castle. The houses are neatly built of stone; and the cathedral is a handsome edifice of white marble, hewn from the neighbouring quarries. The inhabitants have established several manufactures of cotton and silk, and carry on some trade with the Grisons.

From Como I made an excursion to Mendrisio, one of the Italian bailliages belonging to the ⁷ twelve cantons of Switzerland. These bailliages formed part of the Milanese, and in 1512 were ceded to the cantons by Maximilian Sforza, who was raised to the ducal throne by the Swiss, after they had expelled the troops of Louis the Twelfth, and taken possession of the duchy. Francis the First, successor of Louis, having recovered the Milanese, and secured his conquest by the victory of Marignano, purchased the friendship of the Swiss by confirming their right to the ceded territory; a right which the subsequent dukes of Milan have been too prudent to dispute.

Mendrisio and Balerna is one of the smallest of these transalpine bailliages: the bailif or governor is appointed successively by each of the twelve

⁷ Appenzel is excluded from the co-regency because the cession was made in 1512, the year before that republic was admitted into the Helvetic confederacy. Beside Mendrisio and Balerna, the other Italian bailliages are Locarno, Lugano, and Val-Maggia. Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden, possess three bailliages, Bellinzona, Riviera, and Val-Brenna, which were equally dismembered from the Milanese.

cantons, and remains in office two years. He is supreme judge in ⁸ criminal affairs without appeal; a power too great to be intrusted to a stranger, commonly ignorant of the laws, and interested to increase his revenue. In civil causes an appeal lies to the syndicate of Switzerland. The inhabitants enjoy considerable privileges, civil, ecclesiastical, and commercial. The district is extremely fertile in vines, corn, and pasturage; and yields a great quantity of excellent silk.

Upon my return to Como, I embarked upon the lake. The banks near the town are richly wooded, and studded with country houses and small villages, which lie upon the gentle acclivities near the margin of the water. At first the lake is scarcely a quarter of a mile broad, but it widened as we turned round a neck of land upon which is situated the small village of Turnio.

The neighbourhood of Turnio, and the districts bordering the lake of Como, supply, for the most part, those Italian emigrants who wander through Europe vending barometers and thermometers; of whom numbers annually resort to England for that purpose.

After about an hour's rowing we came to Pliniana, remarkable for a singular fountain, which is still to be seen in the same state as described by Pliny. Pliniana, a villa belonging to a Milanese nobleman, is constructed upon the edge of the water, in a most romantic situation, backed by rocks covered with trees and pasture. The master of the house received me with much civility and

⁸ In case of capital punishment, he is obliged to consult the secretary, notary, and the other officers of the district; but as they have no vote, his power is supreme.

politeness, and kindly accompanied me to the fountain. It is a spring, which bursts from the rock close to the house, and falls in natural cascades into the lake. I personally examined some of the circumstances alluded to in the following description, and received the others from the gentleman himself, who had repeatedly made them the subject of his observation. The spring ebbs and flows three times a day: this increase and decrease is regular, excepting in bad weather. In the late season, which has been remarkably fair, its changes were more visible than usual. From being almost dry, it gradually rises, until it forms a considerable stream; and then as gradually subsides, till the period of its swell returns. I saw it in its flow, and measured its increase by placing stones at different distances, all of which it reached and covered in a small space of time. The original passage, in which Pliny describes the ebb and flow of this spring, is written upon the wall of an adjoining apartment.

Fons oritur in monte, per saxa decurrit, excipitur cœnatiuncula manu facta; ibi paululum retentus in Larium lacum decidit. Hujus mira natura: ter in die statis auctibus ac diminutionibus crescit, decrescitque. Cernitur id palam, et cum summa voluptate deprehenditur, juxta recumbis, et vesceris: atque etiam ex ipso fonte (nam est frigidissimus) potas: interim ille certis dimensisque momentis vel subtrahitur vel adsurgit. Annulum seu quid aliud ponis in sicco, alluitur sensim, ac novissime operitur: detegitur rursus paulatimque deferitur: si diutius observes utrumque iterum ac tertio videas⁹.

⁹ *Plin. Epist. liv. iv. Ep. xxx.* — “There is a spring which
“ rises in a neighbouring mountain, and running among the

Having gratified my curiosity at Pliniana, I embarked, and continued to Clarice, where I passed the night. The weather, which has lately been uncommonly sultry, is suddenly changed; and this morning a violent thunder-storm overtook us upon the lake. The water being so much agitated, that we could not proceed without danger, we landed at a small village upon the western side of the lake, in order to wait until the storm should subside. The navigation of these lakes, which are enclosed between the mountains, is occasionally dangerous, according to Virgil's description of the Benacus, or Lago di Guarda.

*Tu, Lari maxime, tuque
Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino.*

Travellers who have visited these parts in calm weather are apt to consider such expressions as exaggerated; but I am convinced, from the storm to which I have just been witness, that such a description is consonant to truth.

The Lake of Como is about thirty-six miles in length, in general from two to three miles broad,

“ rocks is received into a little banquetting-room, from
 “ whence, after the force of its current is a little restrained,
 “ it falls into the Larian Lake. The nature of this spring is
 “ extremely surprising; it ebbs and flows regularly three times
 “ a day. The increase and decrease is plainly visible, and very
 “ entertaining to observe. You sit down by the side of the
 “ fountain, and whilst you are taking a repast and drinking
 “ its water, which is extremely cool, you see it gradually
 “ rise, and fall. If you place a ring, or any thing else at
 “ the bottom when it is dry, the stream reaches it by degrees
 “ till it is entirely covered, and then again gently retires from
 “ it; and if you wait you may see it thus advance and recede
 “ three times successively.” *Melmoth's Translation.*

and four at the widest part, where it is divided into two branches. The great branch leads directly to Como; and the smaller branch, called the lake of Lecco, discharges the Adda, and communicates, by means of that river and the canals¹ of the Adda and the Canale Vecchio, with Milan.

The borders are high hills covered with vines, Spanish chesnut, walnut, and almond trees, and dotted with numerous villages and small towns. The hills which bound the lake rise gradually higher and higher, from those which encircle Como to the crags which tower near its upper extremity.

The storm at length subsiding, I embarked, and proceeded to Bellano, whose streets are so narrow as scarcely to admit the smallest cart. It is situated at the foot of a lofty precipice, rent from top to bottom by a chasm, through which a furious torrent forces its way. A bridge is thrown across the chasm, from whence the spectator looks down with terror into a gulph scarcely inferior in depth to that at the Panton-bruck², in the canton of Glaris; and an aqueduct is conducted along the precipitous sides of the rock.

I again embarked, and proceeded to Domasio, where I waited upon the governor, in order to obtain his permission to visit the Fort of Fuentes: my request being readily complied with, I crossed the lake, accompanied by a soldier from Domasio, and landed at Collico.

A little above Domasio, on both sides of the lake, begins the *malaria*, or unwholesome air. In those parts the borders of the lake are no

¹ See Letter 88. ² See Letter 6.

longer abrupt hills rising boldly from the edge of the water; but a flat swamp, which was formerly covered with water. The inhabitants are subject to intermitting fevers; on which account, during the heats of summer, when the malignity of the atmosphere is at its height, the greatest part of the inhabitants quit the plain, and retire to the neighbouring mountains. We found Collico and its neighbourhood almost entirely deserted; the cottages were shut up; and, had it not been for the appearance of a straggling man and woman, we should have concluded this part of the country to have been quite uninhabited.

After walking about two miles from Collico, we came to the bottom of the rock, upon which stands the Fort of Fuentes. But before we ascend, I shall detain you a moment with a short history of this fort, which at the beginning of the last century was so much celebrated in the annals of Europe.

One of the articles in a treaty between Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the Grisons, expressly stipulating that no fort should be constructed in the district of *Piantedio*, was confirmed by the Spanish branch of the House of Austria, which succeeded Charles the Fifth in the possession of the Milanese. Notwithstanding, however, this agreement, when the religious disputes, occasioned by the introduction of the reformed religion into the Valteline, had created a jealousy between the House of Austria and the Grisons, and affairs seemed tending to a rupture; the count de Fuentes, governor of Milan, laid, in 1603, the foundation of the fort, which he called after his own name, and saw it completed in 1606. From
this

this place, situated in the *Piantedio*, he introduced troops into the Valteline, and supported the inhabitants in their hostilities against the Grisons. Henry the Fourth of France, alluding to the construction and situation of this fort upon the borders of Italy, and near the confines of the Grisons, used to say, *Il veut du même nœud serrer la gorge de l'Italie et les pieds aux Grisons* ³.

If you are not fatigued with this preliminary account, we will now mount to the fort, and take a view of its present state. It is built upon an insulated rock, about a mile and a half from the nearest ridge of mountains, and two miles from the lake, so that it completely commands the only great opening which leads into the Valteline, either from the Milanese or the Grisons; a situation of great importance, when the possession of the Valteline was an object of such consequence to the House of Austria. The fortifications, which are only a quarter of a mile in circumference, are constructed with stone, and are very strong. The only buildings are a few ruinous barracks for soldiers, and the governor's house, which is in a most wretched condition. The whole garrison consists of three soldiers, who, at the expiration of three days, return to Domasio, and are relieved by an equal number from the same place. The only inhabitants are a peasant and his wife, who have resided there a year, and have been almost constantly afflicted with the ague.

The plain below the rock being entirely marshy, and covered with rushes, exhales a pestilential

³ With the same knot he binds the neck of Italy and the feet of the Grisons.

effluvia, which infects the atmosphere, and occasions the unwholesomeness of the fort. The Spaniards were accustomed to style this place, from its peculiar situation, the *yoke* of the Grisons; while the latter, in allusion to its bad air, termed it, with more propriety, the *grave* of the Spaniards.

The view from the fort is remarkably fine and picturesque. On one side, the rich Valteline, watered by the turbulent Adda; on the other, the lakes of Como and Chiavenna, beautifully encircled with numerous towns and villages. The hills which skirt the Valteline and the lake of Como present a variegated landscape of forests, corn-fields, and pastures, finely contrasted, towards the Grisons, by the rugged Rhetian alps covered with eternal snow.

Having taken leave of the three foldiers, and bid adieu to the peasant and his wife, I descended into the plain: the soil of which is fertile, but being subject to frequent inundations, is not capable of constant cultivation. That part which lies between the fort and the lake is so marshy, that although the strait line to the place, where the boat waited for me, scarcely exceeded two miles, yet I was obliged to make a circuit of five before I arrived. In my way, I passed a range of square stones, which form the boundary between the Milanese and the country of the Grisons; on one side of each stone was inscribed *Stato di Milano*, on the other *Grigioni*: they were put up, as the date informed me, in 1763, the year in which the treaty, or the *capitulation* of Milan, was concluded between the Empress of Germany, as sovereign of Milan, and the Grisons. By this

treaty the limits of the two states were finally settled; and several other subjects of dispute were amicably adjusted.

I came to the Adda, which, for a short space, makes the line of separation between the Milanese and Grisons, and walked along its banks. Its stream is muddy, and navigable only by rafts. Most of the maps of the lake of Como are erroneous, in representing that lake and the *Laghetto* di Chiavenna as one great piece of water, and the Adda as flowing into the former; whereas the two lakes are distinct bodies, and the Adda joins a small stream which issues from the *Laghetto*, and thus united falls into the lake of Como.

I embarked near Dacio, which is the last village in the Milanese; at which place all boats laden with merchandize are obliged to land, and pay a small duty. Soon afterwards I entered the lake of Chiavenna, which belongs to the Grisons. The views of this lake are extremely wild and magnificent; surrounded as it is with barren rocks, craggy, and rising into spires sprinkled with snow: the bases of those dreadful precipices are lost in the dead and overshadowed water, dangerous on account of its malignant vapors, and affording no asylum, scarcely a landing-place, to the crews of those frail boats, which are caught unwarily in the violent storms to which it is subject. I landed at Riva, which consists of a few scattered cottages and warehouses, the miserable owners whereof are the only inhabitants.

Having procured some horses, I proceeded to Chiavenna by moon-light. The villages were almost entirely deserted, and the inhabitants withdrawn to the mountains. The people in general

are so greatly alarmed at the unwholesome state of the air in this season, that the watermen who rowed me from Como, although exceedingly fatigued, went back to Domasio; and exerted all their eloquence to dissuade me from my first intention of remaining in the plain: overcome by their repeated importunities, I pursued my journey to Chiavenna. Indeed no other proof of the tainted air is requisite than a view of the inhabitants; the few peasants whom I met in the villages, as well near the Fort of Fuentes as in the valley of Chiavenna, were mostly wan and livid. The narrow valley through which I passed from the lake to Chiavenna, is enclosed between the first and lowest chain of the Rhetian Alps; it is watered by the torrent Maira, and produces Turkish wheat, pasturage, chestnuts, and mulberry-trees, together with a great abundance of willows. Near Chiavenna the ascent is rapid, and that town is built in a higher and more wholesome situation.

LETTER 69.

Plurs — Its Destruction in the last Century by a Fall of a Mountain — Valley of Pregalia.

July 25th.

My last letter left me at Chiavenna, of which town I defer sending you any description, as I propose returning there in my way to Coire. The morning after my arrival, I rode about four miles, to the spot formerly occupied by the town of

Piuro, or Plurs, which was totally over-whelmed by the fall of mount Conto, under which it was built. This terrible catastrophe happened August 25th, 1618.

Plurs was a large and flourishing town, subject, as well as Chiavenna, to the Grisons. Contemporary writers mention, that it contained three churches, many large houses, and a stone bridge over the Maira; and that its population amounted to at least 1500 inhabitants, who carried on no inconsiderable commerce. The valley in which it was situated is very narrow, and the whole town was buried in one undistinguished ruin. A contemporary account relates, that the cloud of dust and rubbish was so great as to cover the heavens like smoke, and even to extend as far as Chiavenna: the inhabitants of Chiavenna, alarmed at this uncommon phenomena, were still more terrified at the disappearance of the torrent Maira, which suddenly ceased to flow by that town for near an hour; its course being stopped by the fallen fragments of rock, until it forced its way over the ruins. This event spread such an universal alarm among the inhabitants, from an apprehension that the torrent had undermined Chiavenna, and would burst out with such fury as to deluge the whole place, that great numbers precipitately fled into the mountains.

I walked over the spot where Plurs was built: parts of the ancient walls, and the ruins of a country house, which belonged to the Franci, the richest family in the place, are the only remains of its former existence; and these would not be noticed by a passenger. A peasant, who has a cottage close to the ruins, pointed out to me every place, as it had been explained to him by

his grandfather. He showed me where stood the churches and principal houses, the channel through which the river then flowed, and where the bridge was constructed. He informed me, that in digging, several dead bodies had been found; and particularly the bones of a priest, covered with shreds of garments, which indicated that he was employed in divine service when the rock overwhelmed the town. Household utensils are frequently dug up; the other day several corpses were discovered, and on the finger bone of one were a silver and two gold rings. Vineyards, chestnut-trees, and houses, cover the spot where this unfortunate town was once situated.

The valley in this part has an oval appearance, and is skirted by a beautiful grove of chestnut-trees; the surrounding mountains are steep and rugged, and from the top of mount Savonne, *l'acqua fragia*, a considerable torrent, precipitates itself, at first in a full unbroken stream, and afterwards divides into three separate falls, highly ornamental to the beautiful scenery of the vale.

I next followed my guide to the house of a gentleman near Chiavenna, in order to see a drawing of Plurs before it was overwhelmed; the ancestors of this person had large possessions, and were the richest family in the town. The master of the house showed me the picture, and explained to me the situation of the different buildings. He then politely accompanied me through his grounds to a manufacture of stonepots called *Lavezzi*, which are made near Chiavenna, and are much used for kitchen utensils throughout these countries, and some parts of Italy. This manufacture is very ancient: Pliny mentions the

stone ⁴ under the denomination of *lapis Comensis*, because the pots were sent to Como, and there exported.

These utensils are made by the following process: the workmen hew from the quarry semicircular blocks of stone, from which, with an instrument resembling that used by turners, they hollow a vessel about a foot in diameter. From the mass which remains, by a similar mode of proceeding, they frame another utensil of inferior dimensions, and continue their operation till they have produced a series of semicircular pots, gradually decreasing to the size of a small basin.

From Plurs I continued along the valley of Santa Croce, and entered the country of the Grisons at the small village of Casta Segna, in Pregalia.

At Bondo, which is a small village in the valley of Pregalia, Count de Salis, formerly British envoy to the Grisons, has constructed a large and commodious house, and entirely fitted up in the English taste. It is situated at the extremity of a small plain scarcely half a mile in length, and about four hundred paces broad, bounded on each side by a chain of the Rhetian Alps, whose sides are covered with forests intermixed with luxuriant pasture. The plain is shut in by some rugged rocks, behind which others shoot to an enormous height, crowned with perpetual snow. The little plain produces excellent pasture, barley,

⁴ *Lapis Ollaris*. — Pliny's *Lapis Comensis* is classed by Wallerius among the steatites, by Linnæus among the talcs. — It is opaque, unctuous to the touch, and composed of mica and steatites. When it is first taken from the quarry it is easily cut and turned; on being exposed to the air it hardens, but will take no polish.

rye, vegetables of all sorts, and some fruit-trees. Through it dashes the torrent Maira over broken fragments of rock.

I rambled about the valley of Pregalia and the neighbouring mountains; and observed the domestic œconomy of the peasants. Their chief food is salt meat, rye bread, milk, cheese, polenta, and chesnuts, which are so plentiful at this season of the year, that they make a principal ingredient in all their meals: the most common methods of dressing them are to boil, and serve them up with crumbs of bread; or to grind them to a paste, and then heat them with some milk.

The peasants are well clothed. They manufacture linen and coarse cloth at home, every family having a loom, which is worked in the winter season. The finer cloth, which they wear only on Sundays and festivals, is procured from Germany.

The valley of Pregalia reaches from the Podesteria of Plurs to the confines of Upper Engadina, and contains about 1800 inhabitants: it is a high jurisdiction in the league of God's House, and is divided into the two independent communities of *Sopra* and *Sotto Porta*; so denominated from a wall with an opening called *Porta*, through which the road passes, and which separates the valley into two equal parts. These two communities enjoy a democratical form of government: a short account of which will convey to you some idea of the mode in which the administration of affairs is carried on in these little states.

Each community has its general assembly, in which the sovereign power is vested; every male at the age of eighteen has a vote: in each of these assemblies the magistrates and representatives to

the general diet are chosen by the majority of voices; instructions are given to the representatives; and all appeals from the diet decided in the last resort. For civil causes, the two communities have separate tribunals, composed of the *Land-ammann*, who is president, and twelve assistants; and an appeal lies from one to the other. For criminal affairs, there is one court of justice, composed of a *Podesta*, and an equal number of judges from each community. The *Podesta* is chosen in the following manner: each community appoints two persons, who nominate nine others; and these nine chuse two candidates, who draw lots for the office. The same person is not unfrequently nominated *Podesta* by both parties; and then the lot is cast, to ascertain to which he belongs. This criminal court of justice is always held at Vico Soprano, in Sopra Porta. In all delinquencies the punishments are extraordinarily severe, and the remission or alleviation is entirely left to the judges, who generally take a commutation in fines; so that if the criminal is poor, he undergoes the punishment, if rich, he redeems himself by money.

L E T T E R 70.

Description of the Marmot.

THE Marmot is extremely common in the mountains of Switzerland, and particularly in this part of the Grisons; and, as many erroneous accounts of this sagacious little animal have been given, I shall send you the following extract, selected

from a description written in the German tongue, by Dr. Girtaner⁵; which cannot fail being highly interesting to all, who love to search into the œconomy of nature.

Doctor Amstein, of Zitzers, in the country of the Grisons, is the first naturalist who has narrowly inquired into the œconomy of the marmot. Since his description of this animal in professor Schreber's work, he has himself made several new observations, and obtained additional information from Messrs Aporta and Catani, two clergymen of the Grisons.

The marmot inhabits the highest and most inaccessible mountains; prefers the small narrow valleys, and particularly the western or southern aspect, as the warmest, and avoids moist places. On the opening of spring, when he issues from his hole, where he has slept during winter, he descends to the lower regions, where vegetation is forward. In summer he again ascends to the rocky heights, and into solitary caverns. He feeds upon herbs and roots, and particularly on the alpine plantain, mountain spignel, alpine ladies mantle, mountain sorrel, alpine toad-flax, alpine trefoil, and alpine starwort⁶. When tame, he eats almost every thing except flesh. On drinking, he raises up his head like fowls at every sip, looking on each side with a timorous watchfulness. He drinks but little, to which Dr. Amstein

⁵ A French translation of this account is given in Rozier's Journal for 1786.

⁶ *Plantago alpina*, *Phellandrium mutellina*, *Alchemilla alpina*, *Rumex digynus*, *Antirrhinum alpinum*, *Trifolium alpinum*, *Aster alpinus*.

attributes his fatness. He is extremely fond of butter and milk.

At break of day the old marmots come out of their holes and feed; afterwards they bring out their young ones; the latter scamper on all sides, chase each other, sit on their hind feet, and remain in that posture, facing towards the sun, with an air expressive of satisfaction. They are all particularly fond of warmth, and when they think themselves secure, will bask in the sun for several hours. Before they collect the grass, either for their food, or for their winter habitations, they form themselves into a circle, sitting on their hind legs, and reconnoitre on all sides. On the least alarm, the first gives instantly a shrill cry, which is communicated from one to the other, and they escape without repeating the noise. The chasseurs, by imitating these successive whistlings, approach so near as to come within shot of them.

The marmot has a quick eye, and discovers the enemy at a considerable distance. He never does the least injury to any other animal, and flies when he is pursued. In fact, when apprehensive of being followed, whole families quit their dwellings, and wander from mountain to mountain, although they must again construct their habitations: but when flight is impossible, they defend themselves with spirit against men and dogs, and attack all who approach them with their teeth and claws.

They always live together in societies. They have both summer and winter dwellings, which are easily distinguished from each other. The former remain open during the whole year; whereas the latter are closed at the end of

September. In the summer dwellings is found dung in great abundance, but no hay: on the contrary, the winter habitations never contain any dung, but much hay. Near the latter is perceived a more considerable quantity of earth, which annually increases according to the size of the dwelling, and the augmentation of the family.

In the formation of their dwellings they scoop out the earth with great dexterity and expedition: a small part they throw away, and by beating the remainder close, render the passage very compact and solid. The opening being scarcely more than six or seven inches in diameter, is just large enough to admit the animal. The interior is from eight to twenty feet in length; it consists of a passage, which, at about five or six feet from the entrance, divides into two branches: the one leading to a small cavity; the other to the chamber in which they repose. The passage, and the two branches, are always carried in a straight line, unless the intervention of a rock, or any other impediment, obliges them to take another direction. The chamber is round or oval, arched at top, and in its form resembles the shape of an oven. It is from three to seven feet in diameter, being larger or smaller according to the number of the family. It is strewn with hay, in which the marmots lie in a dormant state during the whole winter.

On retiring to this dwelling about the beginning of October, they carefully close the entrance so as to exclude all air, with a cement of earth mixed with stones and hay. On opening this chamber three weeks after it is closed, the marmots are discovered lying on the hay close to each other, and rolled up like hedge-hogs, without

the least appearance of life. Usually from five to sixteen are found together; sometimes, but rarely, two families occupy the same dwelling; and occasionally, but very seldom, one has been discovered alone. If exposed to warmth they awaken. The tame marmots do not sleep during winter; but on the approach of that season, excited by instinct, they collect materials towards constructing their dwellings. The wild marmots occupy their winter habitation in October, and quit it towards the latter end of March or the beginning of April. In removing the cement which closes the opening, they do not push it outwards, but draw it inwards, and probably convey the materials, which would block up the principal passage, into the small cavity.

They copulate soon after coming out: in June or July young ones have been observed, about the size of rats.

It is probable that they do not eat during their torpid state; for the same quantity of hay is observed both in spring and autumn in their winter habitations, and those which have been dug out in that season are thin and perfectly empty.

The flesh of the marmot is eatable, and its skin is used for furs.

LETTER 71.

*Passage of the Malloggia — Lake of Siglio —
Selva Piana and St. Morezzo — Expedition to
the Julian Columns — Bevio.*

St. Morezzo, July 31st.

THE road through Pregalia to Coire admits carriages, but is very indifferently paved. I passed through the village Promontogno, then through the Porta, to Stampa, Vico-Soprano, Borgo Nuovo, and Casaucia. The houses in this valley are of stone, plastered and whitewashed; they are not scattered, as in the small cantons of Switzerland; but every half mile a cluster of habitations presents itself.

Beyond Bondo the country produces no more chestnut-trees, but principally larch and firs; it yields grass, barley, and rye. Near Casaucia is the barren and lofty mountain of Set. I here quitted the high road, which turns towards Coire, and about a mile and a half further the valley terminates, and I began to mount a very steep ascent, by the side of the torrent Maira, which rushes amidst a forest of firs; it descends from the glacier of the Malin, a ridge of Alps separating the Valteline from the country of the Grisons. A little further I reached the top of the Malloggia, and observed the Orlenga, a glistening torrent, falling from the Lungin mountain, and forming the remotest source of the Inn. The Malloggia is the point of partition, dividing the waters which run toward the Black Sea, from

those which flow into the Adriatic. The tops of the circumjacent mountains are mostly rugged, and covered with snow : lower down they are enlivened with under-wood, firs, and pasture.

I stopped at a single house, a kind of inn, where travellers are accommodated. The landlord and his family speak an Italian jargon, similar to the Milanese dialect, which is common in Pregalia. The next place is Siglio, in Upper Engadina, where Romansh is the general tongue. On inquiring whether it was similar to the Italian spoken in Pregalia, the landlord informed me, that the two languages are totally different; and the servant assured me, that she could scarcely comprehend a word which was uttered by the inhabitants of Siglio. From Malloggia I descended, and crossed the Orlenga, and continued along the banks of the lake of Siglio. The way was bad and craggy until I came to the confines of Engadina, where an excellent road commenced.

The small lake of Siglio is about five miles in circumference, and is finely situated between high perpendicular rocks. It takes its name from Siglio, which we left at a little distance on our right. I crossed the Inn soon after it issues from the lake, and pursued my course over the dry bed of the torrent Fait, which formerly flowed into the Inn; but has lately changed its course, and now falls into the lake of Selva Piana. Nothing is more common than for these torrents to shift their channels; and I could observe evident traces, that some of them had at former periods watered the small plain between the lakes of Siglio and Selva Piana. The village of that name stands pleasantly upon a small rising ground; and the lake of Selva Piana,

though much smaller than that of Siglio, far surpasses it in the beauty of its banks, which are fringed with hanging groves of fir and larch. From this lake the Inn issues in a larger stream, falls again at a little distance into the lake of St. Morezzo; from whence it dashes through a deep rocky channel into the plain of Celerina, where it runs in a more tranquil current. These little plains, or valleys, are broader and longer than that of Bondo, and produce as much hay, which is now mowing.

At Selva Piana, I endeavoured to converse with some of the inhabitants, but could scarcely comprehend them. I have been endeavouring also to talk with the inhabitants of this place. Many speak Italian, as it is much frequented by strangers for the sake of the waters; but the greatest part could talk nothing but Romanish. This morning being Sunday I attended divine service; the clergyman preached in the language of the country, and I could understand little more than that the text was in the 22d chapter of St. Luke. The sermon, which is the principal part of the service, was about an hour long; the prayers being very short, the girls sung psalms; some of them had delightful voices, and performed with great taste and propriety: a proof of their neighbourhood to Italy.

St. Morezzo, or as it is most commonly called St. Maurice, stands agreeably upon the side of an hill, and overlooks a small lake, which lies in the bosom of the mountains, and is bounded by rising banks, fludded with wood and pasture. It is a village in Upper Engadina, and is remarkable for a plentiful spring of mineral water, much esteemed

esteemed for its efficacy in curing several disorders. It issues from the ground, about the distance of half a mile on the other side of the river Inn; is a very plentiful source, and strongly impregnated with vitriol. Upon plunging Reaumur's thermometer into the source, it sunk from 12 to $4\frac{1}{2}$. I was informed that a gentleman had lately ascertained, from repeated observations, that the thermometer varied according to the greater or less degree of rain; but that upon an average the mercury generally stood between 4 and 7.

I am lodged in one of the boarding-houses, which abound in this place, for the accommodation of persons who drink the waters. The company at table consist, at present, of only two merchants of Appenzel, who are established at Genoa, and a clergyman of Lower Engadina. As I soon discovered the latter to be an intelligent man, I held frequent conversation with him upon the Romanish tongue; but defer enlarging upon that subject until I shall have gained further information. I also talked with him upon the state of religion among the reformed part of the Grisons, and particularly in relation to the *Pietists*, a sect which has lately made great progress in these parts. From the account given by the clergyman, who evidently leaned towards their opinions, these Pietists appear similar to our Methodists: for instance, they exalt faith above good works, affect to be uncommonly rigid and pious, condemn all diversions, card-playing, and assemblies, as criminal; frequently despair of their salvation, fancy visions, enjoy supernatural inward illuminations, and employ so much time in prayer as to neglect their ordinary business. The

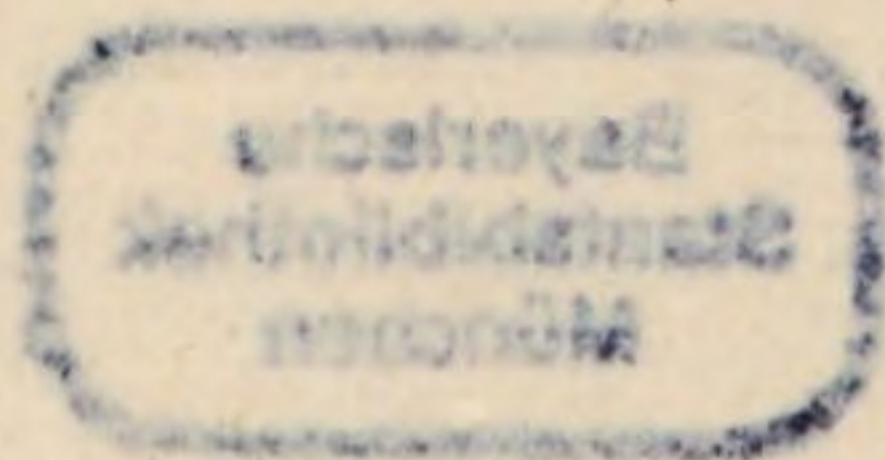
clergymen of this sect are for the most part ignorant and superficial, are vehemently vociferous in the pulpit, thunder out reprobation, and expatiate upon justification, without explaining the methods of avoiding the former, and of obtaining the latter.

These preachers, notwithstanding their affectation of a total indifference to worldly matters, do not confine their views merely to theological speculations, but pay a considerable degree of attention to political affairs: and as, by means of their authority in religious concerns, they possess a considerable influence over the votes of their parishioners, they are on that account much caressed and countenanced by several leading persons among the Grisons.

In these parts the dress of the women is singular, and not unbecoming: it consists of a black or blue jacket with red sleeves, striped blue and white petticoats, a small black velvet cap trimmed with gold or silver lace, with a black or white lace border hanging over the forehead.

From St. Morezzo I made an excursion to the Julian Columns, of which Scheuchzer has given a description and an engraving in his *Itinera Alpina*: he supposes them to have been erected by Julius Cæsar, in order to mark the limits of his conquests in these parts; and asserts that, *Ne plus ultra*, and *Omitto Rhetos indomitos*, are inscribed upon them.

From St. Morezzo I went to Selva Piana, and then turned up a path which leads to the Julian Alps: after continuing about two hours over rugged rocks, I reached the Julian columns, if they deserve so dignified an appellation. They are



of a circular shape, somewhat similar to the Roman mile-stones, placed at the distance of about forty feet from each other. Their height above the ground is about four feet, and they seem to be buried about a foot, or scarcely so much: their circumference is about five feet. They have neither pedestals nor capitals, and are flattish at top, with a small round hole in the middle about four inches diameter and six deep. They were formed by art, but in the rudest manner. I examined with great attention if I could observe the inscriptions of *Ne plus ultra*, and *Omitto Rhetos indomitos*, but I could not discover the smallest traces of any letters. We have no reason therefore to conclude, that these pillars were erected by Julius Cæsar in order to ascertain the boundary of his conquests, or at least we have no proofs upon which we can depend for the truth of this popular story. I do not however regret, that I made the excursion; for although my curiosity has been disappointed in a view of the pillars, yet it has been gratified in visiting these wild and romantic Alps.

The Julian Alps produce much pasture, but no wood, which is a proof of their great elevation. Near the stones just now described is a piece of water called the Julian lake: it is supplied from a glacier on a superincumbent mountain, and sends forth a torrent that descends to Selva Piana, and falls into the lake of that name: it may be considered as a source of the Inn.

I soon afterwards stopped at a cottage, the only house in the whole extent of these Alps: it is occupied only during summer; the tenants every night house the cattle that graze upon these

mountains, and make large quantities of butter and cheese. Having taken a refreshing bowl of thick cream, I began my descent, and observed numerous small streams; some issuing from the rocks, others falling from the glaciers, and forming the first sources of the Little Rhine. The path was so steep and craggy, that I gave my horse to the guide, and preferred walking; about five miles from the pillars, I arrived at Bevio a small village upon the Little Rhine, in the high road which leads to Coire. Every one being employed in haymaking, I could not gain admittance into the inn: some friars, however, offered me their house and dinner, and prevented me from returning, as I had proposed, to the cottage upon the Julian Alps.

On questioning these friars concerning the constitution of the republic of Bevio; they informed me that Bevio and Valmorara form one community, governed by eleven magistrates, though the number of voters who appoint these magistrates scarcely exceeds forty: the chief is called *Ministrale*, and is confirmed every year; for which act of politeness each voter annually receives a florin. About one-third of the merchandise from Como to Coire passes by Bevio, but the greatest part is sent by Splugen. After dinner I returned over the Julian Alps to St. Morezzo. ||

L E T T E R 72.

Upper Engadina — Bever — Zutz — Scampf.

Zutz, August 2d.

THE ride from St. Morezzo to Zutz, through Celerina, Samada, Ponto, and Madulein, is extremely pleasant. These villages lie chiefly upon the sides of the mountains gently rising above a plain, which in some parts is a mile broad, in others so narrow as to be entirely occupied by the river Inn. The valley is enclosed on both sides by a chain of alps, covered for a considerable height with wood interspersed with pasture, and their tops capped with snow. The river, which in this part is free from cataracts, is joined by innumerable torrents, that rush down the sides of the rocks, or burst from the ground.

The Inn, during its progress in this part, is very unlike most of the rivers which I traced in my former tour. The Rhone, the Reufs, and the Aar, for instance, fall, near their sources, in a continual cataract, over fragments of rock, and through the most wild and uninhabited tracts of country; while this river directs its course through a cultivated and populous district, in an equable unbroken stream. The country is picturesque, and its beauties are of a milder cast than are usual in these Alpine regions. The burghs, or villages, are pleasantly dotted about the plain, at the distance of about a mile from each other. Each village contains about fifty or a hundred houses, standing contiguous; these habitations are of stone

plastered and whitewashed, and are in such excellent repair, that they appear as if they had been newly constructed. The spirit of neatness indeed is so general in Upper Engadina, that I scarcely observed one bad house through the whole district; and even the barns are as good as the cottages in many countries.

As I was riding through Bever, the clergyman of that place, who was smoking his pipe at his door, stopped me with a compliment, and upon my entering into conversation with him, invited me to see his library. I alighted accordingly, and looked over his collection. He showed me some English books, and many in the Romanish language, particularly the ⁷ Bible printed at Coire, which is dedicated to George the Second when Prince of Wales. He was also so obliging as to accompany me a little way. About half a mile from Bever he pointed out to me a single house called Alles Angnes, where the deputies of the two communities of Upper Engadina assemble for the purpose of deciding, in the last resort, appeals in civil cases. A little further he desired me to observe a small spring, which falls into the Inn a few paces from its source. It is called Fontana Merla, and would not, he added, be worthy of notice, if it did not separate the two communities of Upper Engadina. Soon afterwards I took leave of the clergyman, mounted my horse, and proceeded to Zutz. I passed the Inn several times, over bridges of single arches, which have a very striking appearance. They were constructed

⁷ This Bible is in the dialect of the Grey League.

by scholars of the famous Grubenman⁸, and in the same style of architecture as the bridges of Schaffhausen and Wettingen, excepting that they are not covered.

Zutz, although not the largest, is esteemed the principal place of Upper Engadina, because it contains the criminal court of justice. The Landamman of Sotto Fontana Merla, who always presides in this court, is chosen every other turn from the family of Planta, established at Zutz: this peculiar privilege, which gives to that family no inconsiderable influence in the political affairs of this country, was formerly granted by a bishop of Coire, who was uncle to one of the Plantas. Upon my arrival at Zutz, I waited upon Mr. Planta, formerly Envoy from the Republic of the Grisons to that of Venice; he was appointed to that embassy in order to renew the ancient league which formerly subsisted between the two states, but which had been interrupted by the last treaty of 1763, between the Empress of Germany and the Grisons; on which occasion the Venetians were so much enraged, that they expelled the Grisons from their territories. This negotiation, however, though conducted with great ability, was ineffectual. Mr. Planta received me with great politeness and cordiality, and invited me to supper; and as the evening was not set in, he accompanied me to what is called the camp of Drusus, which I was desirous of examining.

You recollect the campaign which Drusus, the adopted son of Augustus, and brother of Tiberius, carried on against the fierce inhabitants of

⁸ See Vol. I. Let. 2. and 13.

these mountainous countries; and which Horace, in compliment to his patron, has alluded to in the following passages:

*Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem et Vindelici;*

and afterwards,

————— *arces
Alpibus impositas tremendas
Dejecit acer plus vice simplici.*

This campaign of Drusus against the Rhetians was attended with great success, and he defeated the barbarous inhabitants, before deemed unconquerable, (*indomitosque Rhætos*) with great slaughter. The supposed remains of his camp consist of several deep pits, and a mound of earth about thirty feet high and sixty paces in circumference. These works did not appear to me to be of Roman construction; probably they are nothing more than a rude fortification thrown up during the turbulent times, when the barons of the country were engaged in perpetual acts of hostility: a desire to render them venerable by the remoteness of their origin, and the splendor of the Roman name, seems the only cause of their being attributed to Drusus. Having satisfied my curiosity, I returned to Zutz, and passed an agreeable evening with Mr. Planta.

Scampf, August 3d.

The little burghs in these parts are situated at such a small distance from each other, that my daily journeys are scarcely so much as a morning's walk;

and I am so delighted with the country and its inhabitants, that I could willingly take up my abode here for some time longer. Upon my arrival at Scampf, I carried a letter of recommendation to Mr. Perini; who introduced me to Mr. Aporta, the clergyman of the place. He is a native of Lower Engadina, of the ancient and illustrious family of Aporta. He studied⁹ some time at Deprezin, in Hungary; but returning to his native country, was soon afterwards appointed pastor of Scampf. His income is small, scarcely amounting to L. 20.¹ per annum, and yet his living is esteemed one of the best in Engadina. With this moderate revenue he is able to maintain a wife and large family. His chief work, which is a sufficient proof of his extensive knowledge, and indefatigable industry, is the History of the Reformation among the Grisons, in two volumes quarto. It is written in Latin, and compiled with great impartiality and exactness. The style is classical and perspicuous. This excellent publication is not merely confined to ecclesiastical transactions; for as the affairs of religion are intimately blended with political events, the latter make no inconsiderable figure in every History of the Reformation. The reader will find in Mr. Aporta's performance a minute and faithful account of the animosities between France and Spain, in relation to the Grisons; of the rebellion in the Valteline; of the massacre of the

⁹ He received his education, I believe, in the University of Basle.

¹ Considering the different modes of living, and different value of money, this sum is perhaps equivalent to about L. 60. in England.

Protestants; and of the subsequent war carried on under the semblance of religion. This interesting narrative comprehends almost all the important events in the history of the Grisons, from the beginning of the reformation to the peace of the Valteline.

I look up with reverence to this learned author, for his unwearied industry in completing so laborious a work with little encouragement, and under all the disadvantages which arise from a difficulty of procuring books, and straitened circumstances. All that he ever obtained, beside fame, was a present of twenty-five guineas, which enabled him to bear his expenses to Zurich, for the purpose of collecting materials from the manuscripts in the public library. The work, printed at Coire, at the expense of the typographical society, has never produced any emolument to the author. This respectable divine, beside a critical knowledge of the learned languages, understands and speaks Italian and German, is able to read French, and has some acquaintance with the Hungarian and Wallachian tongues. During the little time I passed in his company, I had frequent occasion to be surprised at his profound erudition and comprehensive abilities; and I am particularly indebted to him for much exact information concerning the Romanish tongue, the general purport of which I shall transmit to you in a future letter ².

Upper Engadina is divided into two communities, called Sotto and Sopra Fontana Merla, from their situation above or below that spring.

² Letter 90.

They have both the same court of criminal justice, which is held at Zutz, and consists of the Landamman of Sotto, who is president, and sixteen jurymen, called Trouadors, taken equally from each district. Justice is more equitably administered in this court than in any other throughout the Grisons, excepting at Coire; a circumstance which arises from the following causes. The code of criminal laws was composed in 1563 by one Juvalta who had been envoy from the Republic of the Grisons to Venice, and had there imbibed more enlarged conceptions of jurisprudence, than at that time prevailed among his rude countrymen. This excellent code was drawn up in Latin, and in 1644 was translated into Romanish. The fines enjoined for criminal offences do not belong to the judges, but to the community. The expenses of the process are defrayed, and a salary is allowed to the judges from the public fund: the judges by these means, being not so much interested to convict the prisoner, are not so ready to employ the horrid expedient of torture for the purpose of enforcing confession.

Another cause of the equity observable in this court is the mode of electing the judges: they are not, as in many of the other communities, chosen by the people collectively assembled, but by sixteen deputies who represent the several districts. By these means the election is carried on with more prudence, and with a greater attention to the qualifications of the judges, than can be expected amidst the confusion of a popular meeting.

The same deputies chuse all the civil magistrates by a majority of voices; and finally decide all legislative and political questions, which have

before been separately proposed to the several districts which they represent. Their constituents have the power (which they frequently exercise) of peremptorily directing their vote. It is, however, no inconsiderable alleviation of the mischiefs frequently attendant on governments purely democratical, that the whole body of the populace on no occasion assemble upon one spot, but discuss matters in detached parties, and send the result of their deliberation by their representatives.

Upper Engadina is a very beautiful valley, yet, on account of its elevation, produces nothing but pasture and a small quantity of rye and barley. The winter sets in early and ends late, during which time sledges are the ordinary vehicles. The air, even at the present season, is cold and piercing, and the corn in the midst of summer is occasionally much damaged by the hoar-frosts. Hence the Italian proverb,

³ *Engadina Terra Fina, se non fosse la pruina.*

As the district does not yield sufficient productions for the maintenance of the inhabitants, many of them migrate into foreign countries; the gentry in the military line, as is common through Switzerland; others in the capacity of mechanics, tradesmen, and merchants: their favorite occupation is to keep coffee-houses or pastry-cook shops in different parts of Italy and France. Generally two persons enter into partnership to carry on the same trade: one stays in his own country, and the other attends the business for a year, when he is relieved by his partner, and returns to his

³ Engadina would be a fine country if there was no frost.

family for the same term. These partners are commonly as faithful as they are industrious; they annually bring considerable sums of money into this district, which is esteemed the richest among the Grisons.

Many of the inhabitants feed numerous herds of cattle in the summer months upon the Upper Alps, and export large quantities of cheese and butter. In the autumn, when pasture begins to be scarce, they send great part of the cattle for sale into the Tyrol. The inhabitants live very much upon salted meat, particularly in winter, on account of the dearth of fodder. The bread of the country is mostly brownish; it is baked in little round cakes, only two or three times in the year, and becomes so hard that it is sometimes broken with the hatchet; it is not an unpleasant food with cheese or butter, which are very common. The greatest part of the butter is made on the Alps; it is afterwards melted, put into bottles, and frequently continues good during the whole year. The wine of the Valteline is much esteemed, and is by no means scarce in this country: it bears keeping to a very considerable age. I have tasted some wine from the cask, of a very fine flavor, above fifty years old, although it grows sour in the space of three years in the warm climate of the Valteline.

The people are, for the most part, remarkably polite and well-bred; they bow to me as I pass with great civility, and will perform any kind of offices in the readiest and most obliging manner. I am indeed no less delighted with the manners of the inhabitants, their politeness and hospitality, than with the romantic scenery of the country.

Although many of the natives spend a great portion of their time in foreign parts, they seldom lose their attachment to Engadina; and return with great eagerness to their family and friends, after their occasional absence.

The inhabitants of Upper Engadina are computed at about four thousand, and out of these, four or five hundred, upon an average, earn their livelihood in foreign countries.

LETTER 73.

*Lower Engadina — Cernetz — Huldric Campel —
Trasp — Remus — Entrance into the Tyrol —
Santa Maria.*

Cernetz, August 4th.

THE valley of Upper Engadina, from Celerina to a few miles beyond Scampf, is nearly level; it is enclosed between two ridges of mountains, which are highest at Celerina, and gradually diminish in height and ruggedness. About Zutz and Scampf is the finest part of the valley: it there produces some rye and barley, and the mountains are clothed with verdure to their very summits. Beyond Scampf the plain ends; and the river Inn, which had hitherto winded in a gentle course, is contracted into a narrow channel, and falls in continual cataracts. The road ascends and descends along the sides of the mountains: and the country is thickly overspread with woods of fir and pines.

I passed through several villages, similar to those I have described in the preceding letter; and near Brail I crossed a small bridge thrown over a precipice, and overlooking a foaming cataract. This bridge is called in the language of the country *Pont Alta*, or High Bridge, and forms the separation between Upper and Lower Engadina. Even if the limits of the two districts had not been thus marked out, the sudden alteration of the road, for the worse, would have led me to suspect that I had quitted Upper Engadina. The road from the lake of Siglio to Pont Alta is like our turnpikes in England, and sufficiently broad to contain two or three carriages abreast; no common circumstance in these mountainous regions. It has been lately made, in consequence of a proposal from the House of Austria, at the late treaty of Milan, to improve the roads leading through the Pregalia and the two Engadinas, in order that the merchandise to and from Pregalia might be transported this way through the Tyrol, instead of being carried, as it is at present, through Coire.

The House of Austria offered to defray the whole expense of this undertaking. The inhabitants of Upper Engadina, although they declined, with a spirit of disinterestedness rarely to be found in democratical states, the offer of indemnification, immediately carried the plan into execution within their own territories; but the intrigues of the citizens of Coire, whose interest would have greatly suffered by the new arrangement, together with an inveterate persuasion, that good roads would render the country too accessible to the neighbouring powers, prevented the people of

Pregalia and Lower Engadina from co-operating in this useful project; accordingly that part of this road, which runs through their districts, remains in its original state.

After crossing Pont Alta, I passed along a wild and almost uninhabited tract of forest until I reached Cernetz, where I am now comfortably lodged in the house of Mr. Planta. That gentleman is at his government of Morbegno, in the Valteline; but having accidentally met me at Chiavenna, kindly gave me a letter of recommendation to his uncle, who would not permit me to continue at the inn.

Cernetz is situated in a small rich plain, bounded by two ridges of mountains converging at both extremities. This plain produces wheat, barley, rye, flax, and abundance of rich pasture. I feel an essential difference between the climate of this little plain and that of Upper Engadina; it is much warmer, and has all its natural productions much farther advanced towards maturity. Large quantities of wood are felled upon these mountains, and floated down the Inn as far as Inspruck. In this plain the Inn is joined by the large torrent Spælg, that descends from the mountains of Bormio. By the side of this torrent, and at the extremity of a narrow pass leading to Bormio and Munster, I observed a square tower, which in 1624 the Marquis de Cæuvres garrisoned with a body of French and Grison troops, in order to check the motions of the Austrian army posted at Munster. The pass is still further fortified by a stone wall, carried from the foot of an inaccessible rock to the tower, and from thence to the torrent.

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The Marquis de Cæuvres, to whom the guard of this important pass was committed, was son of the Marquis d'Etrées; he was bred up to the church, and created bishop of Noyon; but upon the death of his elder brother renounced the ecclesiastical line, and embraced the profession of arms. He distinguished himself in several campaigns under Henry the Fourth, and was afterwards employed in the reign of Louis the Thirteenth as ambassador to Turin and Rome. In 1624 he was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Republic of the Grisons, and commander in chief of an army, composed of French and Swiss troops, sent to the assistance of the Grisons during the war of the Valteline. He penetrated through Coire into Lower Engadina, and seized, without delay, the important pass just now described; by this manœuvre he secured the only avenue by which he could open a passage to Bormio, the reduction of which place was followed by an almost immediate submission of the Valteline. For these important services the Marquis, on his return to France, was created Duc d'Etrées, and raised to the highest honors. He died in 1670, in the 102d year of his age.

I employed the greatest part of this morning in making extracts from Campel's account of the Grisons, esteemed the best topographical and political history of this country yet extant. It consists of three large folio volumes, and is written in Latin. It has never been printed, and is very rarely met with. I had the good fortune to find a copy in the library of Count Firmian, at Milan, who with that readiness to oblige, which peculiarly distinguished his character, permitted me

to consult it. My stay at Milan being very short, and employed in other researches, I had not made so good an use of this indulgence as I could have wished; and as I have now found the same work in Mr. Planta's library, I embrace this opportunity of perusing the most interesting parts: it has given me a great insight into the geography, history, and governments of this country, which are treated with the most circumstantial accuracy.

Huldric Campel, the author of this valuable work, was born, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, at Sufs, in Lower Engadina, and made a most uncommon proficiency in every species of literature. He was one of the earliest reformers in this country, and became, by his active zeal, as well as by his extensive erudition, a great instrument in spreading the reformation through this district. An event of small consequence which happened in his family gave rise to the sudden and wide dissemination of the new doctrines, and ended in the abolition of the Roman Catholic religion.

While he was absent, in 1537, upon the prosecution of his studies, his wife was delivered of a daughter, which was so sickly and weak, that it seemed upon the point of expiring. Gaspar Campel, father of Huldric, a man strongly attached to the reformed doctrines, refused to have the child christened by the Popish priest of the parish, nor would suffer even the midwives to sprinkle it, according to the custom of the Romish church, with holy water; and, as there was no reformed minister at hand, he performed the ceremony of baptism himself. This act was looked upon in so abominable a light by the

Roman Catholics of Sufs, that they assembled in a tumultuous manner, and attacked Gaspar with such fury, that he narrowly escaped assassination. His enemies then brought an accusation against him before the diet, which at first referred the cause to arbitration; but no satisfactory decision being obtained from this mode of proceeding, a public conference was ordered to be held in the church of Sufs, before deputies from the several communities, upon the following question, "Whether, if a child is born and likely to die before a priest can be sent for, the baptism performed by a layman was preferable to that by midwives?"

This ridiculous inquiry led to discussions of great moment. The reformed ministers refused to acknowledge any authority but that of the Holy Scriptures, while the Catholics considered the writings of the fathers and decrees of the church as infallible: each party, thus regarding every point through a different medium, could never be prevailed on to adopt the arguments of its antagonist; and the dispute lasted seven days with little prospect of any satisfactory conclusion. Fortunately, however, a system of accommodation, which this endless mode of reasoning could never even distantly promise, was summarily attained by the moderation of the deputies. They decided, that in cases of extreme necessity, where no priest was present, either a layman or the midwives might baptize, and that the former was preferable to the latter: but what was of the greatest consequence, they inculcated this rational position, that in regard to the other controverted points of faith debated in the course of the argument, every person might safely hold that doctrine, which

from full conviction he was persuaded to be the word of God.

This conference was productive of the most beneficial effects; for the people, who flocked thither in great numbers, were taught to consider the Holy Scriptures as the only authority in controverted questions. The tendency of this maxim is obvious: in fact it produced such immediate and rapid effects, that within the space of twenty years the Reformation was completely established throughout ⁴ Engadina.

To return to Huldric Campel: he not only approved his father's conduct in the affair of his daughter's baptism, but became a zealous profelyte to the new doctrines. Having entered into holy orders, he undertook the care of a reformed church in the valley of Pretigau, where he was indefatigable in the performance of his duty, and the propagation of the Protestant religion. In 1550 he was drawn to Sufs by the friends of the Reformation, as a person the most qualified to combat the Roman Catholic church. His labors were attended with such success, that, a short time after his appearance in his native place, mass was abolished, and the Reformation publicly adopted. Nor was Sufs the sole theatre of his exertions; at Cernetz, and several other places, the persuasion of his eloquence, and the force of his arguments, gained a numerous train of converts.

He passed the decline of his life at Schlins, where he was pastor, and persevered to the last period of his existence in disseminating and defending the doctrine of the reformed churches,

⁴ Excepting the small village of Samun.

as ably with his eloquence as he recommended them by his example. Amidst the occupation of religious duties, he found leisure to continue his history of the Grisons to 1580. He died the following ⁵ year at Schlins, in an extreme old age, leaving a name highly respectable in the religious and literary annals of this country.

The history of Campel consists, as I have before observed, of three volumes. The first dwells chiefly on the topography of the Grisons, and describes the different districts and towns: it likewise delineates the nature of the several governments, and the various forms of civil and criminal jurisprudence in the petty republics into which this country is subdivided. The second volume comprises the history of Rhætia, from the earliest period to the Suabian war in 1499, under the emperor Maximilian I. The materials are chiefly drawn from Tschudi, Stumpf, and other Swiss historians. The third volume, in which the history is brought down to his own times, is the most interesting and authentic. Campel having submitted his work to the examination and correction of Bullinger and Simler, presented in 1577, a copy to the diet of the three leagues, and received public thanks. But as his own fortune was inadequate to the expenses of publication, and as no bookseller would undertake to print so voluminous a work, it has never been given to the world.

⁵ Some authors place his death in 1582.

Remus, August 4th.

The road from Cernetz to Scuol is a continual ascent and descent, and so rocky and bad, that I employed above eight hours in riding only twenty miles. The small plain of Cernetz soon ends, and is succeeded by a rude assemblage of rocks and forests.

Sufs is situated in a narrow pass between the river Inn and a contiguous ridge of rocks a little beneath the ruins of an old castle: close to it is a small fertile plain, which agreeably diversified the wildness of the rocks and forests.

The road to Ardetz follows the course of the Inn, which murmurs below in a deep narrow channel, heard but not seen. From Ardetz (over which hangs, upon a lofty rock, a ruined castle called Steinberg) I descended along a very steep craggy path to the river Inn, which I crossed, and mounted a rapid ascent, leaving on my right hand the valley of Scharla, in which there are silver mines belonging to the House of Austria: they were formerly very rich, and yielded a considerable advantage, but are now exhausted. I passed through the straggling village of Trasp, and close to a castle of the same name, situated upon the highest point of a perpendicular rock. Count Dietrichstein, as lord of the castle, is a prince of the German empire: it was given to his family by the emperor Leopold, on condition that its possessor should always vote in the diet of the empire for the House of Austria. The formality of a garrison is maintained in this castle by a single Austrian soldier.

From Trasp I again descended to the river, crossed it, and ascended to Scuol. I arrived there very late, and set off early this morning.

From Scuol to Remus the mountains on the left slope gradually, and are richly cultivated; they produce great quantities of wheat, rye, barley, flax, and hemp: the trees are chiefly pines, firs, and small birch, intermixed with underwood of nut-trees and wild roses. The cornfields are raised in gradations (if I may so express myself) along the sides of the hills, like the vineyards in the Pays de Vaud. The ridges of mountains on the right beyond the Inn are steep, and in many places perpendicular, with few appearances of vegetation.

It is now harvest time: I have observed several clergymen employed in reaping the corn. The clergy are very poor in Lower Engadina, and are more numerous than in any other part of the Grisons. The income of the richest benefices amounts to about *L.* 20 per annum; that of the inferior cures to little more than *L.* 8; and this scanty pittance is sometimes subdivided among two or three clergymen, or as many as happen to be unprovided for in the same parish.

I stopped at Remus to bait my horses. Near it is a ruined castle which formerly belonged to the bishop of Coire, and was given by one of the former bishops to the Plantas of Zutz; in right of which donation they claim the privilege of administering the oath to the Landamman of Sotto Tasna. The only remains of this castle are two square towers, in one of which is a miserable apartment, where Mr. Planta gives an annual dinner to the Landamman.

The form of government in Lower Engadina is more complicated than that of Upper Engadina, and it has cost me no small degree of pains

to comprehend and unfold it. I shall not, however, trouble you with a circumstantial account of every particular which struck me in the course of this investigation, but shall comprise my account in as short a compass as possible.

Lower Engadina is divided into three communities, which send three deputies to the general diet. The first community is composed of the parishes of Cernetz, Sufs, Lavin, Guarda, and Ardetz: The second comprises Vettan, Scuol, and Sent; and the third contains Remus, Schlins, and Samun. The two former communities make one High Jurisdiction; and the third forms, with Bevio, Valmorara, and Avers, another High Jurisdiction.

In civil causes there are two separate courts of justice, one for that part of the country which lies to the north, the other for the district to the south of the torrent Tasna; from which torrent the two parts are called Sopra and Sotto Tasna: from each of these courts there lies an appeal, in the last resort, to the civil tribunal of Sotto Fontana Merla, in Upper Engadina, or to the neighbouring community of the valley of Munster.

In criminal causes there are likewise two distinct courts, but without appeal, one for the tract to the north of the mountain Falon, another for the region to the south: according to this division the two parts are denominated Sopra and Sotto Montfalon.

By this complicated arrangement Vettan is connected with Scuol and Sent in political concerns; in civil affairs with Scuol, Sent, Remus, Schlins, and Samun; in criminal causes with Cernetz, and the other towns of the first community. This

intermixture of various interests creates such an intricacy in the election of deputies, magistrates, judges, both civil and criminal, as would be uninteresting for me to detail, or for you to read.

One circumstance, however, cannot fail to strike the most inattentive inquirer; that although the mode of electing the judges is nearly the same with that of Upper Engadina, yet that justice is by no means so impartially administered as in the latter district. I cannot forbear ascribing this material difference in an affair of such importance to the different condition of the two people; the inhabitants of Upper Engadina, being more enlightened and affluent than their neighbours, are less open to the influence of illiberal prejudices and petty corruption.

Party runs very high both in Upper and Lower Engadina: there are some considerable families in these districts, of which the principal are those of de Salis and Planta, both subdivided into numerous collateral branches. The history of this country is full of the disputes and struggles between these rival houses, and presents in many periods little more than an uniform picture of domestic feuds. The two parties are distinguished by the appellations of *Scarbonada*, black; and *Alba*, white; the former devoted to the Plantas, the latter to the de Salises. At the time of elections for deputies and magistrates the inhabitants of Lower Engadina seldom abstain from blows, which not unfrequently terminate in bloodshed.

I have more than once had occasion to mention the superiority of politeness which distinguishes the inhabitants of Upper Engadina from those of the lower district. This pre-eminence probably

arises from the constant emigration of the former into other countries, and their intercourse with foreigners. I find also a great difference in the comforts of life in the two districts. Although Lower Engadina produces necessaries abundantly sufficient for interior consumption, yet the inhabitants are less industrious, and consequently poorer. In Upper Engadina I was always able to procure at the commonest inns fresh meat, good oil, and excellent wine, none of which I could obtain in the lower district. The villages are less commodious, and the houses of the peasants are also far inferior in cleanliness, neatness, and convenience. This difference probably proceeds, in a certain degree, from the nature of the country: Upper Engadina yielding but few productions, the inhabitants are obliged to seek from without some means of subsistence; and industry once excited, brings with it its usual companion opulence. On the contrary, the soil of Lower Engadina, fertile in all the fruits of the earth, lays the inhabitants under no necessity of extraordinary exertion, nor obliges them to have recourse to foreign trade.

Santa Maria, August 5th.

In my way from Remus to St. Martin's bridge, being overtaken by a violent storm of rain, I took shelter in a cottage; and was cheerfully received by a well-looking old woman; my horse was put under a shed, and myself safely housed from the pelting of the shower. I found the house perfectly neat and clean, with much better furniture and accommodations than I expected from the external appearance. The old woman talked, I found,

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(beside the Romanth) German and Italian, and the latter remarkably well. The storm continuing two hours without intermission, I held a long conversation with her, and was greatly pleased with the polite and ready manner with which she expressed herself upon different topics. Upon taking leave, I made several apologies for having dirtied her house, thanked her for her kind reception, and endeavouring to slip a piece of money into her hand, was surprised at her declining to accept it.

All these circumstances inciting my curiosity to obtain some intelligence concerning this old woman, I collected the following account. She is a native of Lower Engadina, of a good family, and formerly possessed a tolerable fortune: she married, when very young, a nobleman of the first family of Milan, who came into Engadina, renounced the Roman Catholic religion, and embraced the Protestant doctrines. They lived for many years in the greatest harmony, till having dissipated almost all her fortune, he one day took leave of her, with a promise of returning in a short time. From that moment she never saw him, nor heard from him, and she was afterwards informed that he was gone to Italy, and, having reimbraced the Roman Catholic religion, had turned monk: upon receiving this information, his wife collected the scanty remains of her fortune, and retired to the spot where I found her.

Towards the extremity of Lower Engadina I crossed the Inn over St. Martin's bridge, at a little village of the same name: on the other side I came into Tyrol, where that river struggles through a very narrow channel, between two

ridges of high and rugged rocks. I now took a farewell of the Inn, which I had accompanied from its source. At St. Martin's bridge it forms the separation of Engadina and the Tyrol; on receiving the torrent Schargenbach, it quits the territory of the Grisons, and passing through the Tyrol and the Electorate of Bavaria, joins the Danube at Passau with so large a body of water, as to equal, if not surpass, the celebrated river in which it loses its name. Hence Scheuchzer has labored to prove, that the Danube may be said to rise in the Rhetian Alps with more justice than in the mountains of Suabia, because the proportion of waters, which descend from the former, is greater than what is supplied from the latter.

In the village of St. Martin Romansh is spoken; on the other side of the bridge just mentioned German is the language of the country. From the steep banks of the Inn I ascended a high mountain, along an excellent road, lately formed at the expense of the emperor, in order to facilitate the communication between Milan and the Tyrol. From the top I had a fine view of the Inn and Lower Engadina, and then descended to Nauders, where I dined upon a cold fowl, which, Mr. Planta had ordered my servant to put up for me, without which precaution I should have made but an uncomfortable meal.

From Nauders I went along a small pleasant valley, bounded on the left by a ridge of mountains which separate the Tyrol from Engadina. The valley is about a quarter of a mile broad, and almost level: it is covered with rich pasture, and watered by a lively torrent that falls into the

Inn. At the end of this valley I came to a gentle ascent, on the other side of which I found a lake, which is one of the first sources of the Adige; beyond this is another lake, and further on a third: the banks of these lakes are prettily skirted with villages, at one of which I passed the night.

Having a long day's journey from thence to Bormio, I set out at five this morning, and proceeded by the side of the torrent which flows from the lakes and forms the Adige. The country is agreeable, and in high cultivation, especially where it opens into a rich and extensive view beyond Mals, which town I passed at a little distance on my left hand, and turned short into the road that leads to the valley of Munster. At the bottom of the first ascent I went through Laitch, which is subject in spiritual affairs to the bishop of Coire, in temporal to the House of Austria. From thence I mounted through a rich rising valley to Santa Maria, Tauven is the last village in the Tyrol where the inhabitants speak German. A little beyond that place I passed the barrier, and again entered the territory of the Grisons, where the Romansh is the common tongue.

I stopped at Munster, in order to see a monastery for women, from ⁶ which the name of the town and of the valley is derived. It is very ancient, and said to have been founded by Charlemagne: I was not, however, permitted to examine it, as it is against the rules of all nunneries to admit a male visitant within the walls. I proceeded to Santa Maria, from whence I am now writing.

⁶ Monasterium.

This valley of Munster contains Santa Maria, Munster, Valdera, Cierfs, and several other villages, which form a community in the league of God's House. Formerly the bishop of Coire had considerable influence and power in the government of the valley. Justice was administered in his name, and he received the amercements for criminal offences; but having violent disputes with the inhabitants, he sold these rights in 1727 to the emperor Charles the Sixth: the republic of the Grisons, however, objecting to this transfer of immunities, which they considered as unalienable, the bishop was obliged to re-purchase, and dispose of them to the inhabitants, who are now perfectly independent. The people are divided into Catholics and Protestants, the former inhabiting the town of Munster, with its immediate dependencies, the others the remainder of the valley: the magistrates and judges are chosen equally from both parties, who live together in tolerable harmony. The common language is the Romanth, the same as spoken in Lower Engadina, though not quite so pure, as, on account of its proximity and connexion with the Tyrol, it is blended with a great number of German words.

L E T T E R 74.

Passage of Mount Bralio — County and Town of Bormio.

Bormio, August 7th.

THE passage from Santa Maria to this place was very tedious, and would have been attended with some danger if I had been detained a day later; as the great quantity of rain, which has poured down without intermission, would have rendered the Alpine paths extremely slippery. I continued to ascend two hours from Santa Maria to the top of Mount Bralio, which separates the valley of Munster from the county of Bormio. This body of Alps is supposed to be the same which Tacitus mentions under the name of *Juga Rhætica* ⁷. I ascended the whole way by the side of the torrent Ramo, the same which flows by Laitch, and falls into the Adige ⁸ below Mals. I traced it to its source, where it rushes from a glacier, amidst an enclosure of surrounding rocks. A few paces further, having reached the summit of the Bralio, I observed another torrent fall from the same glacier in a contrary direction, which forms the first source of the Adda.

From this point a descent commences, and continues, with little interruption, to Bormio. The tops of these mountains produce no wood, but yield excellent pasture; they were covered

⁷ Hist. lib. i.

⁸ Or rather two torrents form by their junction the Adige.

with cattle. The most elevated parts are of granite, but not near so fine grained as that which I observed upon the St. Gothard, and some of the other Swiss Alps. I then went down a very narrow rugged path, and in an hour entered the county of Bormio, and a small plain about a mile in length, in the midst of which is a single house, that is termed an inn; and which is the first habitation I met with since I quitted the valley of Munster. I found no one within but a woman and two children, who spoke a corrupt Italian: the woman was greatly affronted on my inquiring if she talked Romanse; being a Roman Catholic, she seemed to consider it as a kind of heresy to understand that language.

I followed the course of the Adda, which flows through the plain; it is at first a small torrent, but gradually increases, by a continued accession of water from the neighbouring mountains. At the end of this small plain the descent recommences, and the track from thence to Bormio, is as craggy as the highest parts of Switzerland. Since I have travelled in the country of the Grisons, I have not yet met with such astonishing scenes of wildness, horror, and majesty, as occurred in this day's journey. Description generally fails in representing the most ordinary exhibitions of nature; how inadequate then must it be to the singular combination of sublime objects, which I shall now attempt to delineate?

I had no sooner quitted the small plain above-mentioned, than I entered suddenly into a most barren and desolate region; on my right hand huge piles of misshapen Alps; on my left a large mass of ice and snow. Close to the path the Adda
foams

foams from precipice to precipice in broken cataracts; lower down it shoots over a succession of natural steps, which seem as if they had been hewn in the rock by art; at the distance of about a mile, it is contracted into a narrow channel, through which it labors with incessant fury. Over this tremendous gulph is a slight wooden bridge, which is partly supported upon a detached fragment of rock, and partly suspended upon the sides of the opposite mountains: as we passed over, it tottered with our weight. I then continued upon the edge of a deep abyfs, the Adda roaring beneath, though no where visible, suggesting to my imagination cataracts more stupendous than any I had hitherto seen. Its channel is cut perpendicularly in the rock, which has evidently been hollowed to the depth of some hundred feet by the attrition of the waters.

We now arrived at a barren spot, where the vale was entirely closed by an impassable mountain: a stream bursts from a small opening in the rock, and then expanding as it falls, forms a considerable torrent, foaming amidst vast fragments of stone. We turned suddenly to the left, by an opening through which the Adda seems to have forced a passage, and discovered some fertile fields lying upon the side of a distant mountain, which beautifully contrasted with the wild and uncultivated scenes we had just quitted: a few paces further we came upon the prospect of a fertile plain extending to Bormio, the Adda flowing in a milder stream, which a moment before roared underneath our feet, over broken precipices. In about half an hour I reached the baths of St. Martin, in the valley of Premaglia; they are

formed by several hot springs which rise near Molina, and are much frequented at this season of the year. They are of the same nature with those of Bath, but did not appear so hot.

From thence I descended into the plain, which produces some corn, and yields excellent pasture, and in short time arrived at Bormio. Every thing now wears an Italian look: the villages are very inferior to those in the Grisons. The houses are plastered, and have a dirty appearance; and it was no bad remark of my servant, that the villages looked as if the inhabitants were mostly dead, and the place deserted.

This road over the Bralio, although so indifferent, was formerly the principal passage for the merchandise sent from the Tyrol, through the Valteline, into the Milanese: at present it is much less frequented.

The county of Bormio, subject to the Grisons, lies at the foot and in the midst of the Rhetian Alps, and borders upon Engadina, the valley of Munster, the Valteline, Tyrol, Trent, and the Venetian territories. It is entirely enclosed within the mountains, except a narrow opening, which connects it with the Valteline: the other accesses to it lie across the rugged Alps, and are similar to the passage over the Bralio: in winter they are frequently impassable.

This county, once a part of the Milanese, became subject to the Grisons in 1512: the concurrence of extraordinary circumstances, which occasioned this revolution, will be related in the following letter, upon the history of the Valteline; for, as the latter came under the dominion of the Grisons at the same period, and from the

same causes, the two histories are so intimately blended, that they cannot be separated.

The county is divided into five districts, 1. Bormio, which comprises the capital, and several dependent villages. 2. The valley of Furba. 3. The valley of Pedinosa. 4. The valley of Cepino. 5. The valley of Luvino. The inhabitants of the Luvino possess several privileges, particularly the power of judging civil causes within a certain value. They do not, however, appoint any of the magistrates, who are all chosen from the four other districts.

The county of Bormio enjoys very ample immunities, some of which are not extended to the Valteline, or Chiavenna; in virtue of which, the inhabitants are exempted from the oppressions so wantonly exercised by the Grison governors in the other subject countries.

1. The inhabitants pay a fixed contribution to the Grisons, which is very moderate, and cannot be increased. 2. They collect and enjoy their own duties upon exports and imports, which secures them from injudicious and oppressive taxes. 3. The fines for criminal offences belong to the community: a circumstance very friendly to the administration of justice: for no part of them being assigned to the governor, as is the case in the other subject provinces, he is not interested to convict criminals. 4. But the principal privilege which distinguishes this country from the Valteline, is the freedom of its government, and the limitation of the podestà's authority.

Bormio, like all the other subject countries, is governed by a supreme magistrate called *Podestà*, who is sent from the Grisons, and continues two

years in office : his authority is so exceedingly circumscribed, that he enjoys scarcely any power, but with the concurrence of the councils. He presides in these councils without giving a vote, except in case of equality; he has neither the power of arresting a criminal, nor of pardoning or lessening the punishment; he receives a yearly stipend from the country of about L. 80, arising partly from a payment in money, partly from an allowance of rye, and partly from the costs of suit in civil and criminal causes. But the restrictions laid on his authority will best appear from the following short sketch of the established government.

The supreme authority resides in the podesta and councils, which consist in a civil and criminal tribunal, whose members are annually chosen by the people.

The criminal court, or the council of Sixteen, who are changed every four months, is composed of two regents, the treasurer, the notary, and sixteen counsellors, ten of whom are taken from the town, and two from each of the vallies of Furba, Pedinosa, and Cepino: of these members only the sixteen counsellors have any vote. At the request of the two regents, this council is convened by the podesta. In order to arrest a criminal, the whole council ought to assemble, or at least seven of the members; but in any case of importance, the podesta and two regents may give an order of arrest; this, however, being contrary to law, must be referred to the first meeting of the council, which, if satisfied, decrees in the words of their code, *Male captus; bene detentus*; the arrest was illegal, but expedient. The process

is formed, and the prisoner examined by the podesta and two regents, who lay the proceedings before the council. If the criminal is convicted, and will not confess his crime, the majority of the council decide whether the proofs are strong enough to justify torture: if that horrid expedient should be deemed requisite, it must be applied in the presence of the podesta, the two regents, the treasurer, and notary.

The fines are paid to the community, which (if the prisoner is insolvent) defrays the expense of the process. If the proofs against the prisoner appear insufficient for his conviction, the podesta and counsellors receive nothing for their attendance: this regulation, which was designed to prevent frivolous prosecutions, is productive of this ill effect, that it induces the judges to strain the slightest circumstances into proofs of guilt, and not unfrequently occasions the infliction of torture⁹.

The civil tribunal consists of twelve members, taken from the town of Bormio, who determine all civil causes in the first instance: from their decision there lies an appeal to the syndicate of the Grisons.

The members of these councils are chosen annually in the following manner, by the assembly of the people, consisting of, 1. All those who have been magistrates; 2. Of sixty persons from the town, nominated by the two chiefs of the people; 3. Of sixty persons chosen equally by the three vallies; 4. Of three deputies from the valley of Luvino. All these representatives assemble on the

⁹ Little more is wanting to the reformation of criminal jurisprudence in Bormio, than to render the examinations public; to pay the judges for their attendance, whether the prisoner is innocent or guilty, and to abolish torture.

15th of June, in the town-hall of Bormio: the election is carried on in the most democratical manner, upon a plan calculated to prevent all influence; which, however, can never be entirely excluded by the most complicated mode of election ever invented. Without enlarging upon the form of voting by ballot used at Bormio, I shall, on account of its singularity, only briefly describe the ceremony of chusing the two regents. After the nomination of the counsellors, the regent last in office points to some person in the assembly. At the same instant the treasurer mentions some number, as for instance, ten, fifteen, &c. This number is immediately counted by the regent, beginning from the person to whom he is pointing: the last six of the persons counted retire into a separate room, and chuse six members of the assembly, namely, three from the district of Bormio, and three from the valleys, who appoint six candidates. The names of the latter are thrown into six bags, and ballotted for, and the two, who have the greatest number of ballots, are regents. They remain in office only four months, in order to prevent their abusing their power, which is very great.

The expenses of government are regulated with a democratical jealousy; and the accounts are annually submitted to the inspection of each district, in the following manner: When the regents retire from office, the treasurer delivers in a summary of the expenses and receipts incurred during their administration, which is read to the council of Sixteen, and cannot pass without their approbation. In October the council elects three examiners, two of whom are always taken from the

inhabitants of the town, and one reciprocally from each of the three valleys. These examiners make a report, which is laid before a deputation from the town and the valleys on the 3d of May, and five copies are distributed to the several deputies, for the inspection of their respective constituents: lastly, the report is read before the assembly of representatives, who meet for the election of the magistrates, when it is either finally approved or rejected.

The revenue of the county of Bormio, however trifling, is nearly adequate to the current expenses: it arises in the following manner:

	L.	s.	d.
Duty upon merchandise, which this year amounted to	29	5	0
Letting of the pasture upon the Alps of Frederiga, Gallo, and Bralio,	30	13	4
For liberty of cutting wood,	6	13	4
Profits arising from the sale of the corn granted by the government of Milan,	25	4	0
Rent of the baths,	13	6	8
Fines, upon an average,	14	0	0
Tithes of corn produced,	105	12	0
	222	14	4

The following is a Table of the average Expenses.

	L.	s.	d.
For making and repairing roads and bridges,	83	6	8
Salary of the magistrates,	71	8	0
Salary of the podesta and syndicate,	57	7	6
	212	2	2

In this calculation a few occasional expenses are omitted, which render the general outgoings

greater than the receipts: the overplus is supplied by equal assessments. For the purpose of assessing, there is a perpetual committee, consisting of twelve members chosen from the town, and two from each valley, which is convoked by the regents. The sum required being laid before them, they fix the quota according to a calculation of property.

The mountainous parts of this country produce only pasturage and wood: the lower district about Bormio yields corn, but not sufficient for domestic consumption. The inhabitants export cattle, a small quantity of cheese, and iron: the latter is obtained from the mine of Freli, in the valley of Pedinosa, worked at the expence, and for the profit, of a private person, who pays to the community a small annual rent. Wine is imported from the Valteline, corn from the Tyrol, corn and rice from Milan, linen from Bergamo and Appenzel, and cloth from Germany.

Popery is the established religion of this country, and the exercise of every other worship is prohibited: even the podesta himself, if a Protestant, is not entitled to any indulgence in this particular¹. Spiritual affairs are under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Coire, who has a vicar's court at Bormio, in which all ecclesiastical causes are tried.

The priests have peculiar privileges, which are even extended to those who wear a clerical dress. Although many abuses result from those exorbitant immunities, yet, from the nature of the

¹ For the causes of this prohibition, which takes place in all the provinces subject to the Grisons, see the next letter.

government, they are more restrained here than in the Valteline.

Most of the peasants possess a small portion of land, and, in consequence of the freedom of the government, are much happier than the people of the Valteline and Chiavenna.

The town of Bormio is not unpleasantly situated, at the foot of the mountains, close to the torrent Fredolfo, which falls at a small distance into the Adda. It contains about a thousand inhabitants, but has a desolate appearance. The houses are of stone plastered: a few make a tolerable figure amidst many with paper windows; several, like the Italian cottages, have only wooden window shutters. This fashion may not be uncomfortable in the mild climate of Italy, but cannot be very agreeable in this country, subject to sudden changes of weather, and occasionally cold even in the midst of summer, when the bleak winds blow keenly from the Alps.

The landlord of the inn in which I am lodged is one of the regents, and is, I find, a man of great consequence. I sit down to table with him, the podesta, and his wife. The podesta has been lately appointed to his government, and I can collect, from the conversation which has passed, that he is perfectly ignorant of the laws and constitution of this country; in all my questions he refers me to my landlord, who is thoroughly acquainted with the theory and practice of the courts of justice, and well versed in the most minute circumstances, relative to the administration of affairs.

It has rained all day without intermission, and the showers in these Alpine countries pour down with such uncommon violence, that I esteem

myself very fortunate in being well sheltered. The bad weather, however, did not prevent me from seeing every thing which is worthy of attention in Bormio, and in paying several visits to the principal families of the town, who consider an Englishman in this country, as a kind of phenomenon, and showed me every attention and civility in their power.

The Palazzo, or town-house, contains a suit of wretched apartments for the residence of the podesta, a chamber for the courts of judicature, and an apartment where the representatives of the people assemble. In one of the rooms is an engine of torture, which, in defiance of common sense, as well as humanity, is still used in these countries to force confession.

Being desirous of seeing the archives, I found it occasioned more trouble than I at first apprehended. The door of the apartment, in which they are deposited, has several locks; and it was necessary for all the magistrates, who are intrusted with the different keys, to be present at the same time: no objection, however, was made to my admission, and all parties readily assembled upon this occasion. The archives, which are in the greatest disorder, contain many records relating to the history and constitution of Bormio, the criminal and civil statutes, and several charters from the sovereigns of Milan, confirming original privileges and adding others. The earliest of these acts is dated 1378, and signed by John Galeazzo Visconti.

The most important of the papers is the charter, by which the Grisons confirm, in the most ample manner, the immunities granted to this

country by the dukes of Milan: it was passed in the diet of Ilantz, under Paul, bishop of Coire, in 1513, the year subsequent to that in which the Grisons annexed Bormio to their dominions. Many circumstances have concurred to deter the Grisons from infringing this charter: the two principal causes are, the situation of Bormio, and the spirit of freedom which distinguishes the inhabitants. By its situation upon the confines of the Tyrol, the people, in case of the least discontent, would receive encouragement and assistance from the House of Austria. This local advantage procured them, while under the government of Milan, much better treatment than was experienced by their neighbours in the Valteline; and a similar reason still continues to operate upon the conduct of the Grisons.

The spirit of freedom also, which pervades the constitution, has no less materially contributed to the security of their privileges: these people have always watched with a jealous eye the slightest advances of encroachment; and have never failed to remonstrate with great unanimity and resolution, whenever the podesta has discovered the least inclination to exceed the bounds of his authority. Hence the Grisons have uniformly acted towards them with great moderation, and have ever paid the readiest attention to their representations and remonstrances.

L E T T E R 75.

Tirano — Sketch of the History of the Valteline.

Tirano.

I QUITTED Bormio this morning about ten. The torrents are considerably swelled with the late rains; and the sides of the neighbouring mountains are sprinkled with yesterday's snow. From Bormio I passed along the narrow valley of Cepino, through several wretched villages, among which not the least wretched is Cepino itself, consisting of a few straggling cottages, many of which are in a ruinous state. Having crossed the Adda, and continued on the left shore of that torrent, which dashes with great violence through a rocky country, in three hours I came to a pass called La Serra, where almost the whole space between the impending rocks, excepting a small path, is occupied by the Adda.

The path runs under the gateway of an ancient tower, and leads from the county of Bormio into the Valteline. At Sondalo, which stands on the banks of the river upon an eminence, under a richly cultivated mountain, the valley widens, and becomes more and more fertile: in some places it is about a mile, in others scarcely a hundred yards in breadth. Near Tirano the valley exhibits an appearance of extraordinary fertility. The left ridge of mountains is chiefly overspread with hanging groves of chestnut trees, intermixed with a few vines; above them are meadows and forests of fir. The ridge fronting the southern

fun, is richly covered with vines, which reach almost to the summit, studded occasionally with clusters of large trees: on both sides churches and houses half concealed by the foliage enliven the prospect. Below runs the Adda. The plain on each side of its banks produces abundance of corn and pasture, mulberries, walnuts, and other fruit-trees, and vines carried over the corn and pasture in beautiful festoons from tree to tree.

Tirano is the capital of the Upper Terzero, and the residence of the podesta. Although the town contains several handsome buildings, yet, on account of the narrowness of the streets, and number of ruinous houses, its general appearance is desolate. The Adda divides it into two parts, which are joined by a stone bridge of a single arch. I observed remains of stone walls, with which this place was formerly surrounded. These walls, together with an adjoining fortress, were built by Ludovico Sforza, against the incursions of the Grisons; but were dismantled by the latter, when they acquired possession of the Valteline.

Tirano carries on but little trade, except during the time of the fair. The staple commerce of the town consists in the exportation of wine and silk; the former article, which is the most considerable, is sent in large quantities into the country of the Grisons, to Bormio, and into the territories of Venice. The silk, which is drawn from this district of the Valteline, is not of the best quality, nor very abundant: part is sent to Venice, and the remainder, through Chiavenna, to Germany.

About half a mile from the town, on the other side of the Adda, is the church of the Madonna,

or the Virgin Mary, much visited by the Catholic pilgrims. It is a large handsome building, constructed with marble, and stone stuccoed. Part of the church is ancient, for I observed a date of 1206: the carved ornaments in this part are grotesque, but by no means badly finished. The modern building is in an elegant style of architecture. The principal entrance is formed by two Corinthian pillars ornamented with foliage and festoons of flowers, while the pilasters are neatly adorned with *basso relievos*, in the style of the antique. The era of the workmanship, as I collected from an inscription over the door, was 1533.

In the large area before the church is held, in the month of October, the fair of Tirano, remarkable for the number of cattle which are brought for sale: they are fed upon the highest Alps, where they continue until the snow begins to fall, and are chiefly sent from hence into Italy. The fair continues three days, during which time the authority of the podesta is suspended; and the governor of the Valteline has absolute jurisdiction over the town and district.

I cannot describe to you how much I am perplexed with a variety of languages. I speak Italian or French with the principal gentry, and sometimes am obliged to hold a conversation in Latin. I talk a smattering of German with my servant, who understands no other language, and, with my guide and the common people, a kind of corrupt Italian, like the Milanese. I write my notes in English, and during my progress through Engadina, was employed in collecting a vocabulary of the Romanish. I must therefore

warn you not to be surpris'd, should you find a confusion of tongues in my Letters.

The Valteline, called by the inhabitants *Valle-Telina*, extends from the confines of Bormio to the lake of Chiavenna, about the length of fifty miles. It is entirely enclosed between two chains of high mountains; the northern chain separates it from the Grisons, the southern from the Venetian territories: on the east it borders on the county of Bormio, and on the west on the dutchy of Milan.

The Valteline, together with the counties of Chiavenna and Bormio (which had long been the constant source of hostility between the bishops of Como and Coire) came in 1336 under the dominion of Azzo Visconti, sovereign of Milan, who quietly transmitted them to his successors. Upon the death of John Visconti, one of Azzo's successors, his extensive territories were divided between his nephews Galeazzo and Barnabas². Upon the demise of Galeazzo, his son John Galeazzo secured the person of his uncle Barnabas, and having confined him in the castle of Trevio until his death, which happened in 1395, annexed his dominions to his own, and became by this union the greatest and most powerful prince in Italy. Mastino, son of Barnabas, took shelter, upon his father's imprisonment, with Hartman, bishop of Coire, and died in exile, without recovering any share of his inheritance. Previous to his death he formally ceded all his right and title over the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio,

² I do not mention Matthias, the eldest brother, because he died soon afterwards.

to the bishop of Coire, as a mark of gratitude for his protection.

To this cession, at that time of no avail, the Grisons owe the possession of these provinces. The claim lay dormant for above half a century, until some discontents arising in the Valteline in 1487, the Grisons made an irruption into that country, in support of the bishop's right; but their arms not being at that time attended with success, they purchased a peace, by renouncing all pretensions to the Valteline. They renewed, however, their claim in 1512, when Ludovico, called the Moor, Duke of Milan, was taken prisoner by Lewis the Twelfth, and the whole Milanese, comprising the Valteline, occupied by that monarch.

Upon this revolution, the Grisons, in conjunction with the bishop of Coire, entered the Valteline, and, having expelled the French troops, took possession of the country: they were received with joy by the inhabitants, who did homage to their new sovereigns, and in return obtained from them the confirmation of all their privileges. A compromise was immediately entered into between the bishop of Coire and the three leagues, to share between them the sovereignty of this country. In the following year Maximilian Sforza, raised to the ducal throne of Milan upon the expulsion of the French, ceded in perpetuity the possession of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the bishop of Coire, and the Grisons; and this cession was ratified by Francis the First, in the treaty of peace which he concluded with the Swiss and their allies the Grisons in 1516, when he obtained possession of the Milanese.

In

In 1530 the Republic of the Grisons acquired the whole dominion of the Valteline, to the exclusion of the bishop of Coire; under pretence, that the latter had not furnished his quota of men and money in the war with James of Medici, in defence of these ceded countries: accordingly they compelled the bishop to sell his share of the sovereignty over the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, for a yearly income of 573 florins to be paid to the bishop and his successors out of the customs of Chiavenna. From that period these provinces were possessed by the Grisons without molestation, until the rival interests of France and Spain, the intrigues of the pope, religious enthusiasm, the zeal of party, and the exactions of the Grison governors, kindled an insurrection, which commenced with a general massacre of the Protestants, and raged for a series of years with the most savage and unremitting fury.

In no country has the spirit of discord been more prevalent, or religious disputes been carried to so great a height. The zeal of contending factions has communicated itself to the historians of these transactions; each of whom is evidently enlisted in a party, and gives different representations of the same facts, according to the interests he has espoused. Under these disadvantages, I found no other method of arriving at the truth, than by comparing contradictory accounts, and rendering them mutually subservient to the detection of each other's imposition; and I am concerned to find, that on both sides religion has been pleaded as a sanction to the most atrocious actions, and been alledged by one party as an excuse for tyranny, and for rebellion by the other.

As the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, originally belonged to the Milanese, the sovereigns of that dutchy always looked upon the Grisons with a jealous eye, and secretly embraced every opportunity to foment the intestine disturbances with which they, in common with all democratical states, are occasionally convulsed.

Upon the extinction of the family of Sforza in the person of Francis the Second, the emperor Charles the Fifth seized the Milanese as a fief reverting to the empire, and disregarding the claims of the French king, gave the investiture to his own son Philip. With the possession of the Milanese Philip succeeded to his pretensions upon the Valteline; and although both he and his successor, Philip the Third, entered into treaties of alliance with the three leagues, by which they resigned all claims to this country, yet their renunciation was never sincere. They never finally relinquished all intention of recovering a province which had been once dismembered from the Milanese, and which the contests between France and Spain rendered more valuable to them, than to their predecessors in the dutchy of Milan.

During the constant wars, which from the accession of Philip the Second the restless ambition of the Spanish court entailed upon Europe, the German and Spanish branches of the House of Austria were inseparably united; and the councils of Vienna were directed by the cabinet of Madrid. Under these circumstances the Valteline, which, by connecting the Tyrol and the Milanese, afforded the only secure passage for the junction of the Austrian and Spanish troops, became of signal importance. Hence the Spanish governors of Milan,

highly solicitous to acquire influence among the people, secretly fomented the spirit of disaffection, which the conduct of the Grison governors had too justly provoked; promised their assistance to the aggrieved inhabitants, and gained by these means a powerful party in favor of their court. The minds of the inhabitants being thus gradually won over to the Spanish interest, the Count of Fuentes, governor of Milan, ventured, in defiance of the Grisons, to construct the fort ³ which bears his name, for the purpose of commanding the passage of the Valteline.

The same reasons which rendered the Spaniards desirous to secure the Valteline, induced the French to obstruct their designs. Henry the Fourth, with his usual vigor, zealously espoused the cause of the Grisons, and was preparing to send effectual assistance against the attempts of Fuentes, when he was cut off by sudden assassination; and the intestine troubles, which took place upon his death, for a time totally withdrew the attention of France from this quarter. The Spaniards, thus freed from their most formidable rival, pursued their projects upon the Valteline without opposition, and availed themselves of the domestic dissensions between the Grisons and the inhabitants.

The Grisons had long attempted to introduce the Reformation into the Valteline with the most injudicious zeal, and without paying sufficient attention to the prejudices of a superstitious people. Churches for the worship of the Reformed religion were constructed, and ministers regularly

³ See Letter 68.

settled with a permanent salary. Schools for Protestant children were established at Sondrio, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Romish priests, and the opposition of the people. Many privileges of the Popish ecclesiastics were taken from them; privileges⁴, which though exorbitant, and repugnant to every principle of sound government, were sanctified by usage, and could not at once be abolished without exciting general discontent.

To these religious grounds of dissatisfaction were added others, arising from the tyrannical proceedings of the Grison governors, whom the advocates for rebellion painted, and it is to be feared with too much justice, in the most odious colors. "A system, they cried, of avarice and extortion is established by law; the magistrates purchase their offices, and indemnify themselves by the plunder of the country. All things are venal; life, honor, and even conscience itself has a price. It is not possible for the governors to be more iniquitous, nor for the people to suffer a greater complication of calamity."

These well-grounded complaints were aggravated, and the crisis of rebellion accelerated by an act of flagrant injustice. Many inhabitants of the Valteline suspected of favoring the Spanish court, and particularly those, who had opposed with the greatest zeal the introduction of the Reformed doctrines, were arrested, and conveyed into the country of the Grisons. Mock courts of

⁴ They were (as they are at present) independent of the civil authority for all delinquencies, and amenable only to the bishop of Coire.

justice were established in several places, by which the prisoners were fined to a large amount; and some were even wantonly sentenced to the torture.

Among the sufferers was Nicholas Rusca, a priest of Sondrio, who had gained the universal esteem of the Catholics, by his unremitted resistance to the Protestant doctrines, and who, for the rigid austerity of his manners, was revered by the multitude as a saint. The death of this person so much respected, amidst the most excruciating torments, raised a spirit of fury among the people too violent to be appeased. The emissaries of Spain did not fail to increase the general ferment, and to suggest the most plausible motives for immediate insurrection. They represented, that, as the Grisons were convulsed by factions, and France disturbed by intestine commotions, a most favorable opportunity presented itself to shake off the yoke under which they groaned: animated by these suggestions, the inhabitants determined to commence hostilities by a general massacre of the Protestants.

The 20th of July, 1620, was the day appointed for the perpetration of this horrid design. At dead of night Robustelli, the leader of the conspiracy, accompanied by about a hundred followers, arrived at Tirano, and having assembled the chief Catholics of the place, laid before them the intention of extirpating the Protestants: the dreadful proposal was embraced with all the zeal of resentment, inflamed by fanaticism. At break of day the signal for the massacre being given by ringing the bells; great part of the inhabitants

^s See Letter 80.

issued from their houses, and repaired to the market-place with terror and anxiety. In this moment of perplexity the conspirators fell upon the protestants, and encouraged the people to follow their example, by destroying the enemies of the Catholic faith. Few words being necessary to exasperate an incensed and superstitious multitude; every person seizing the first arms which presented themselves, scoured the streets, stormed the houses, and assassinated the Protestants.

During this dreadful scene, the podesta, his family, and some of the principal Protestants took refuge in the town-house, and barricadoed the doors: the Catholics, however, soon forced a passage, and burst into the apartments where the fugitives were collected. Their fury was for a moment suspended, at the affecting sight of the podesta and his wife upon their knees, presenting their infant children with uplifted arms. But such was the implacable barbarity of the enraged multitude, who demanded with repeated instances the death of the podesta and his family, that this short respite was of no avail, and only served to embitter their fate: they were first imprisoned, and then put to death, without distinction of sex or age.

The next scene of the massacre was exhibited at Teglio, whither some of the conspirators were dispatched from Tirano: they were dressed in red, as a signal to the inhabitants that the rising at Tirano had succeeded. The Catholics soon collected themselves into a body, and repaired to the church, where the Protestants were assembled for the celebration of divine service. One of them levelled his piece against the minister, who was preaching; but missing his aim, the Protestants rose up, drove

out the Catholics, and barricadoed the doors. The assassins then climbed up to the windows, and shot from the outside upon the crowded audience; the doors at length being burst open, all the Protestants were put to the sword excepting those who renounced their religion.

Another party of Catholics made their way towards Sondrio, where the governor of the Valteline resided. That magistrate, being apprized of their design, ordered the inhabitants to take arms, and summoned the people of the neighbouring district to his assistance: in obedience to this injunction, both Protestants and Catholics began to assemble, but the former were intercepted, and destroyed. Some attempting to escape towards Engadina and Pregalia were overtaken in their flight, and involved in the common ruin. Even the women laid aside the natural softness of their sex, and hardened by superstition, practised every species of outrage upon the bodies of the deceased. Mean while the Catholic troops entered Sondrio, and exciting their partisans with the cry of "*down with the enemies of the Catholic faith*," made a general slaughter of the unhappy Protestants. Mercy, however, was extended to the governor and his family, in a manner which does honor to the chiefs of the revolt who conducted the attack of Sondrio. He was first imprisoned, but afterwards, in consideration that he had always treated the Catholics with mildness, was dismissed with his family, and escorted in safety to the confines of the Valteline.

It would be shocking to humanity to enumerate any further particulars of this savage massacre, or to trace its devastation in the several towns of

the Valteline. It continued, without intermission, for three successive days; nor were its horrid effects confined merely to those who were assassinated upon the spot. Many who had escaped into the country were hunted down like wild beasts; others, after eluding the fury of their pursuers, were consumed by hunger and fatigue; and numerous dead bodies were discovered in the woods, caverns, and torrents. Several Catholics, who were allied to the Protestants, shared in the general disaster; even women and infants were slain in the most deliberate manner. Some Protestants saved their lives by abjuring their religion, and many, who refused to purchase their safety by this concession were burnt alive.

In the midst of this dreadful carnage, one instance of singular humanity deserves to be recorded. Bartholemeo Peretti, the principal Catholic at Berbeno, being exhorted to put all the Protestants of that town to death, apprized them of their danger, and assisted them in effecting an escape. But this act of clemency was the occasion of his own destruction, and he was executed as an enemy to religion.

All the Protestants being either destroyed or driven out of the country, the remaining inhabitants renounced their allegiance to the Grisons, and framing a new form of government, threw themselves under the protection of the king of Spain, who sent an army to their support.

The people of Bormio followed the example of the Valteline, with this difference, that they did not massacre, but only expelled the Protestants. Having entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the inhabitants of this valley, they

also erected themselves into an independent common-wealth.

The Grisons, divided among themselves, were totally unequal to the chastisement of their revolted subjects. The Catholics were desirous of employing the mediation of Spain, for the purpose of recovering the Valteline; the Protestants, inclined to vigorous measures, proposed an application to the Swiss cantons, Venice, and France. After violent dissensions, which were not terminated without bloodshed, the Protestant interest prevailed, and a deputation was sent to the powers above-mentioned.

Zuric and Berne instantly dispatched a body of troops, while the Catholic cantons refused to act against those of the same persuasion with themselves. Venice, alarmed at the growing power of the House of Austria, and desirous of a passage through the Valteline, gave a flattering answer to the request of the Grisons, but, with a spirit of delay natural to a republic, deferred sending any actual succour. France too, having just emerged from a civil war, was more disposed to negotiate than to act with decision. Bassompierre was dispatched to Madrid to solicit the restitution of the Valteline; and although a league was concluded between the king of France, the duke of Savoy, and the Republic of Venice, to assist the Grisons unless the Valteline was restored; yet all that could be obtained from the Spaniards was, that the forts of the valley should be placed in the hands of the pope: but as the pope was a secret partisan of the House of Austria, and inclined to favor the rebellion of the Valteline, it was evident that he would restore the forts to the

forts of the Valteline into the hands of the pope, and evacuated the country.

In conformity to this alliance, the inhabitants having elected Robustelli, who began the massacre, for their governor, and appointed twelve magistrates, sent a deputation to Coire to demand the confirmation of the Grisons. The latter, however, were by no means disposed to accede to a treaty so destructive to the rights of sovereignty, which they possessed over the Valteline. Openly excited by the Republic of Venice, and secretly encouraged by the French minister, they refused to acknowledge the treaty of Mossion. But as they were not in a state to support their claims upon the Valteline by force of arms, they could only remonstrate and negotiate, without producing any immediate effect.

Affairs continued in this state for three years; until Richelieu, having completed the reduction of the Hugonots by the taking of Rochelle, found himself in a situation to turn the whole force of France against the house of Austria; the diminution of whose power he had long meditated. He now threw off the mask: the dominions of the House of Austria were invaded on all sides, and every part of Europe became the theatre of his vast designs. Among other enterprises, the Valteline engaged no inconsiderable share of his attention. The duke of Rohan was dispatched to the Grisons with a formidable army, and having worsted the Spanish troops in various encounters, dispossessed them of the Valteline.

Upon this decisive success, the French abated much of their solicitude for the interests of the Grisons; and although they began the war with

a positive demand of an unconditional restitution of the Valteline, yet they were no sooner in possession of the country, than they again professed, as on the former conquest, a great tenderness for the privileges of the inhabitants. They refused to surrender their acquisition to the Grisons, unless upon terms more favorable to the people than had been offered even by the treaty of Mossion.

The Grisons having no prospect of assistance from any other quarter, found themselves under a necessity of acceding to these humiliating stipulations. The French, with a view probably of retaining the Valteline in their own hands, continued to delay its restitution, and clogged every subsequent negotiation for that purpose, with conditions still more unfavorable.

The Spaniards artfully availing themselves of these circumstances, held out to the Grisons the most flattering overtures of accommodation. The latter, encouraged by these well-timed offers, and incensed at the repeated instances of duplicity they had lately experienced, rose up in arms, and drove the French from the Valteline. The treaty of Milan was the consequence of this revolution; a close alliance was concluded between the Spaniards and the Grisons; and the Valteline was restored to the Grisons, under the guarantee of that very power, which had originally excited the inhabitants to revolt.

This treaty, contracted in the year 1635, secured to the Spaniards the passage of the valley, which had been the great object of the war, and restored the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the Grisons, under the following articles: An act of oblivion; the immunities of the subject

countries to be confirmed as they existed before the revolution of 1620; no other religion but the Catholic to be tolerated therein; no person of any other persuasion to be permitted to reside, excepting the governors, during the two years they should continue in office, and the Protestants possessed of lands, who should not be allowed to remain in the country above three months in the year; the privileges of the ecclesiastics to be restored in their full latitude.

A few alterations were made in the government of the Valley, and some regulations introduced, for the purpose of stemming the torrent of injustice and corruption, that prevailed in the courts of justice before the revolution: they consisted chiefly in a new method of nominating the governors, and in the creation of the office of assessor. The articles are guaranteed by Spain, and inserted in the capitulation, or treaty, ratified in 1639, at Milan, in the presence of the deputies from the Valteline.

The deputies reproached the Spaniards, for having summoned them to Milan, in order to be present, in silence and with tears, at the subversion of their liberty; and when the treaty was announced to the inhabitants of the Valteline, a general despair spread itself through all ranks. The people universally lamented that they had been deluded into a revolt under a promise of protection; that they had expended, during this fatal war, above twenty-five millions of florins⁶, for no other purpose than to procure an alliance between Spain and the Grisons, and to be restored

⁶ Near L. 2,000,000 sterling.

to their original masters, exasperated by their revolt, and preparing to renew the former acts of injustice and tyranny which had driven them to rebellion. Nor were these murmurs ill-grounded; for, except the total exclusion of the Protestant religion, no material alteration was made in the fate of this valley.

Since this treaty the laws have been no less perverted than before, the exactions of the governors have continued as exorbitant, and the courts of justice as iniquitous and corrupt. The change in the administration of justice has proved no alleviation; the creation of the assessor's office served only to give the sanction of law to the most iniquitous proceedings, or to vary the mode of oppression. This innovation has been moreover attended with this bad effect to the bulk of the inhabitants, that whereas, before the rebellion, the nobles were principally subject to the rapacity of the Grison judges; since the pacification, the people have become more exposed to exactions.

I have thus brought down the history of the Valteline to the pacification of 1637. Since that period no material change has taken place in the situation of affairs. The sovereigns of Milan have always cultivated the friendship of the Grisons; and the inhabitants of this valley, having no power to resort to for protection, have endured a regular course of oppression under the government of a free state.

LETTER 76.

Government of the Valteline.

THE geographical division of the Valteline is into three principal districts, and the political into five governments.

The three districts are, 1. *Terzero di Sopra*, or the Upper District. 2. *Terzero di Mezzo*, or the Middle District. 3. *Terzero di Sotto*, or the Lower District.

The five governments are, 1. Of the Upper District. 2. Of the Middle District, called also the Government of Sondrio. 3. Of Toglio. 4. Of Morbegno. 5. Of Traona.

Each of these five governments is subject to a magistrate appointed by the Grisons, who is changed every two years. The magistrate over the Middle District is called *governor* of the Valteline, and possesses in some respect a superior degree of authority to the others, who are styled *podestas*. He is also captain general of the Valteline.

But before I proceed to explain the form of government, it may be necessary to lay before you the method of electing the governor and *podestas*, to whom the Grisons delegate their authority over the Valteline.

In the year 1602, the venality and injustice of these magistrates had arisen to such an excessive height, that some remedy seemed absolutely necessary. The cause of this injustice was evidently derived from the public sale of the governments, and the share of the fines for criminal offences, which were partly appropriated to the Grisons,
and

and partly to the governors ⁷. In order to prevent corruption in the distribution of the offices, and exaction in the governors, two important changes were made. Instead of one person being appointed to fill the vacant office, four candidates were nominated by the community, to whom the turn of election belonged, and these four drew lots for the charge. But this alteration would have been attended with few beneficial effects, if it had not been followed by another, namely, that the stipend of the governors should be tripled, and that they should have no share in the fines: yet these salutary regulations, as they prevented the Grisons from selling the governments at so high a price, were a few years afterwards abolished by the diet. In order, however, to preserve some appearances of impartiality in the choice of the magistrates; it was stipulated in the treaty of Milan, that three candidates should be nominated by the community to whom the election belongs, and that one of these should be appointed by the diet. Yet this mode is a mere formality: three are always presented; but the diet never fails to nominate the person recommended by the community. These magistracies are allowed to be openly purchased: in general, part of the money is assigned to the public fund of the community, and the remainder is distributed among the body of the people, in whom the right of election is vested, and whose votes are seldom obtained without additional bribes. It will easily be

⁷ It is necessary to apprise the reader, that when I use the word *governor* simply, I apply it indiscriminately to the governor of the Valteline and the four *podestas*.

imagined what a dreadful scene of ⁸ corruption is opened by this mode of proceeding; and how frequently persons are appointed to the governments, who are totally inadequate to the discharge of their trust.

These magistrates, as representatives of the sovereign state, enjoy the supreme authority, and are intrusted with the power of life and death; and if they are apparently controlled by the laws, they devise means to evade them. But their authority will be best understood from a detail of the civil and criminal courts of justice established in this country.

The criminal tribunal is composed of the governor, vicar, and assessor.

⁸ All authors, both natives and foreigners, who have written upon the Grisons, have not failed to enumerate the ill effects resulting from the sale of governments, which is authorized by law; but none have expressed their disapprobation in stronger terms than Fortunatus Juvalta, in the following passage, from a manuscript account of the Grisons:

Qui ad honores, & præsertim ad quæstuosas illas præfecturas aspirabant, non aliter quam ambitu & largitionibus voti compotes fierent. Omnia enim venalia prostabant, non secus ac aliæ merces.

Neque vero privati tantum homines mercimonia illa exercebant, sed communitates integræ etiam cauponabantur, neque erubescabant præfecturam communitatis cum legationibus ad dietas seu conventus publicos, quarum in ipsorum manu erat electio, cum officiis ad subditos & aliis emolumentis communitati provenientibus, consilio publico, solenniter constituto pretio, in multos annos vendere, & ne quid ambigi posset, publicis tabulis perscriptis consignare. Indignæ prorsus aurea libertate, utpote quæ illam tam turpiter & scelerate profanarent ac prostituerent. Emtores isti emebant, ut carius venderent, ideoque ubi spes aliqua lucri affulgebat, merces suas venales exponebant, & plus offerentibus addicebant.

The governor arrests, imprisons, and examines the delinquent: though, according to the letter of the law, no examination ought to be made but in the presence of the vicar and assessor. The criminal being convicted, and the sentence passed, the governor enjoys the power of remitting or diminishing the punishment, excepting in cases of high treason, premeditated murder, or such enormous crimes. He has a small annual stipend paid by the Valteline, but the chief part of his income is derived from the fines for criminal offences, of which he receives two-thirds. In all trials he is bound to follow the penal statutes, which are drawn up with great precision and clearness.

The vicar is always a Grison; and he is chosen by rotation from the several communities, in the following manner: Three candidates are presented to the inhabitants of the Valteline, who appoint one of them to the vacant office. This mode was adopted in the treaty of 1639, in order to check corruption, but it has not been attended with the desired effect. The community, in whose turn it is to elect the three candidates, leaves to the person who has purchased the office the power of nominating his two associates; and the diet, in delivering in the three names, recommends the person who had been previously designed by the community, and this recommendation is always accepted by the Valteline. The vicar ought to attend in person all trials when the governor examines the prisoners; but this custom is now fallen into disuse, and in lieu of his attendance, he receives an annual sum of 1127 Grison florins, about *L.* 83. from the governor of the Valteline and each of the four podestats: a shameful elusion,

as the vicar was designed to be a kind of counsel in favor of the prisoner, and to prevent injustice in the mode of examination. When the prisoner is convicted, an account of the process is laid before the vicar, who must confirm the sentence. Torture, for the purpose of forcing confession, cannot be inflicted without his consent, and in his presence, which is never dispensed with. Besides a small salary, and the above-mentioned annual sum of 1127 florins, as a premium for not attending at the trials, he has a stated allowance, as well for every consultation, as for every time that he is present at the infliction of torture.

The assessor must be an inhabitant of the Valteline: he is nominated by the vicar from three candidates, chosen reciprocally from each of the three Terzeros. His vote is necessary to concur with the vicar in ordering torture: he must also attend when it is applied, and must confirm the sentence passed against the convicted persons. He has no regular salary, but his profits depend upon the number of processes in which he is consulted. This is the only office which gives to the inhabitants of the Valteline any share in the criminal jurisprudence.

The assessor, according to the original intention of the statutes, ought to be a person well versed in the laws of the country, and should be considered as an advocate for the accused; but as he is obliged to the vicar for his nomination⁹, he is commonly his creature, and seldom gives

⁹ Usually the assessor either pays the vicar for his appointment, or else delivers him all his regular fees of office.

his vote in opposition to him. Nor indeed is it yet a decided point, whether the concurrence of the assessor is absolutely necessary for passing a definitive sentence. The case is without precedent, but was once very near being brought to a decision. The assessor differed from the opinion of the governor and vicar, and refused to give his concurrence for the conviction and punishment of a criminal. In this dilemma the affair was referred successively to the two other candidates for the assessorship, who had been presented to the vicar for his nomination. Notwithstanding they agreed with the assessor, it was still disputed whether the assessor, as a servant of the vicar, could act in direct opposition to his opinion, and prevail against him. The case was so extraordinary, that it was proposed to appeal to the diet; but some of the chief nobles of the Valteline, concluding, that the Grisons would decide in favor of their own representatives, induced the vicar to drop the appeal; and the affair was compromised without coming to a decision.

Such is the general theory of the criminal jurisprudence in this country, by which it appears that the power of the governor is limited as well by the strict letter of the law, as by the interference of the vicar and assessor, whose concurrence is necessary for passing a final sentence. But this limitation exists only in theory; for the laws are easily eluded, and even made subservient to the conviction of the innocent as well as the guilty. The vicar and assessor, be they ever so upright, can hardly prevent the oppression of the judges; and if they are themselves rapacious, they receive their share of the plunder, by conniving at the governor's injustice.

From this general view of the criminal jurisprudence of the Valteline, we may readily infer the wretched situation of the inhabitants; where the supreme magistrate purchases a temporary office at an exorbitant price, and has an inadequate salary; where the principal profits of his charge arise from the fines for criminal offences; where it is his interest to arraign and to convict; and where he is himself the interpreter of the laws, of which he is commonly ignorant, the accuser of the party, and the judge.

I have already mentioned the power which the governor enjoys of pardoning all offences except the most atrocious crimes. A pardon of this sort is called *liberatione*; and there are printed papers that contain its form, in which blank spaces are left for the name of the person, for the crime committed, for the date, and for the signature of the judge. I enclose a copy of a liberation²: it

² The following is the form of a liberation:

Podestà Regente della Giurisdizione di Tirano,
e sue Pertinenze, &c. Giudice de' Malefici
con Mero, e Misto Impero, e con
autorità di Spada, &c.

Per tenor della presente, ed in ogni altro miglior modo, &c. abbiamo liberato ed assolto, ficcome liberiamo ed assolviamo, libero & assolto essere vogliamo, e dichiariamo, che sia.

Here the name of the person is inserted.

da ogni, e qualsivisia pena pecuniaria, arbitraria, o afflittiva del Corpo, nella quale sia incorso, o abbia potuto incorrere per avere.

Here the crime is mentioned.

Item. Da ogni altra cosa annessa, commessa; incidente; risultante; emergente, e dipendente dalle premesse, &c.

brings to my recollection those acts of indulgence, which the Catholics obtain from Rome for the absolution of their sins; with this difference, that the latter refers to a future state, the former to this life.

The price of these pardons varies according to the magnitude of the crime, the condition of the person who committed it, and more particularly the time in which it is granted; for the sum is greater when a governor first enters upon his office, than when he is retiring from it.

Sometimes, during the last two or three hours previous to the expiration of the office, pardons may be procured at the lowest rate; and I was assured from very good authority; that a liberation for homicide has not unfrequently been obtained for about four-pence.

Do not suppose that this account of the venality which reigns throughout the Valteline is heightened, for I have taken great pains to ascertain the truth, and it has been confirmed to me by persons of all ranks, both in the Grison and subject countries.

Nor will you be led to imagine that all the governors are equally rapacious and unjust. Like the Roman proconsuls, some carry their rapine to the height, others are less exacting, and a few are free even from the most distant imputation of injustice.

Però cassando, &c. annullando, &c. commandando, &c. imponendo, &c. restituendo, &c. supplendo, &c. Essendo Noi alla suddetta Liberazione divenuti attesa l'Autorità, con cui, &c. ed attesa una tenue composizione con Noi, in nome ancora dell' E. C. D. fatta, e pagataci.

Dat. in Tirano dal Pretorio questo giorno anno

The civil courts of justice remain to be considered.

Although the governor presides in these courts and passes sentence, yet by a singular privilege the cause is not always left to his absolute decision. He examines the witnesses, and makes out the process; but, at the request of either party, the cause may be referred to an arbitrator, who is called *Savio*. He is either nominated by the plaintiff and defendant; or, if they cannot agree, is chosen by lot in the following manner. The plaintiff and defendant appoint each six persons; from the six appointed by the defendant the plaintiff selects one; the defendant nominates one of the six chosen by the plaintiff; and these two persons draw lots who shall be arbitrator. He then examines the acts of the process, gives his opinion, which is called in the statutes of the country *Il Consiglio del Savio*, and the governor is bound to submit to his decision. The obligation of the governor to follow the opinion of the arbitrator is so strong, that according to the statutes, if he refuses to pass sentence, the opinion of the *Savio* is *ipso facto* a decision.

From this decision there lies an appeal to two arbitrators called *Probi*, who are appointed by the parties in the manner abovementioned: should they disagree, then the two parties amicably nominate a counsellor, who accedes to one of the *Probi*; and this sentence is final, if it concurs with that of the *Savio*; but otherwise, there lies a farther appeal either to the syndicate or diet, and ultimately to the several communities of the three leagues. When the governor decides in the first instance he receives three *per cent.* of the contested

property, but only one *per cent.* when recourse is had to arbitration, the other two *per cent.* being paid to the Savio.

By this singular privilege of referring to arbitration in all causes of property, the civil courts of justice are not open to such corruption as the criminal tribunals; and yet venality has taken so deep a root in the affairs of this unhappy country, that bribery finds its way even into the civil tribunals.

When the civil causes are brought in the governor's court, and decided by him without the intervention of the Savio and Probi, there lies an appeal to the syndicate, a body whose office I shall now explain.

At the end of every two years, when the magistracies expire, syndicates are appointed by the Republic of the Grisons, for the purpose of inquiring into the administration of the several governors, and of hearing appeals from their decisions. This court is composed of nine members, including the president; they are chosen reciprocally by the communities, three from each league. They make a circuit into each of the subject provinces; send out proclamations, that they are ready to receive all accusations against the governors, examine witnesses, decide all appeals, and can mitigate all fines imposed, without the concurrence of the vicar and assessor. They do not, however, finally determine in civil causes, in the last resort, which may be referred from their decision to the diet. The syndicate, which was intended to oppose corruption and injustice, is nevertheless the great support of both. Nor can it be otherwise; for the syndics purchase their office

from the several communities; and as their salary is very small, they can only reimburse themselves by receiving bribes from the judges or from the appellants. Their office is bought for a greater or smaller sum, as there are more or less appeals of consequence to be submitted to their arbitration. And what is pregnant with still greater abuses, when a cause of great importance is to be referred to the syndicate, the governors frequently purchase from the several communities, in whose right the election is for that time vested, the power of nominating the syndics, and of course appoint their own creatures. Hence this court is become so corrupt as to give rise to a proverb, "*as venal as the syndicate.*"

Having thus endeavoured to draw a general sketch of the civil and criminal jurisprudence in this country, I shall now mention the domestic administration of affairs.

All public concerns, which do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Grisons, are discussed and determined by a council composed of five representatives, one from each district, which meets as occasion requires at Sondrio. Previous to its sitting, the public notary writes to the several parishes of the five governments, informing them of the business to be transacted: each parish has its meeting, in which every householder possesses a vote; and each district has its assembly composed of deputies from the several parishes, who chuse the representatives. In all affairs of importance, the representatives are bound to vote in conformity to instructions received from their constituents, and all transactions are decided by a majority of voices. The council is empowered

to demand a redress of grievances from the Grisons, and to remonstrate against infractions of the privileges granted to the inhabitants by the Capitulation of Milan. The governor of the Valteline is present, but has no vote.

The tribute which the Valteline pays to the Grisons is so small, the salaries of the governors so inconsiderable, and all duties so trifling, that most writers, who have had occasion to mention this valley, have described it as the most happy and the least oppressed of all subject provinces; without reflecting, that notwithstanding these advantages, the country is annually drained of a sum very disproportionate to the ability of the inhabitants.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact amount of this sum, as it arises chiefly from the secret as well as public profits of the courts of justice. But when we consider that the greatest part is procured by extortion; that scarcely any distinction is made between innocence and guilt; that great crimes are committed with impunity, and petty offences are severely punished; we may add, that the mode of exaction is more detrimental to the country than the loss of the specie itself; inasmuch as a corrupt administration of justice is the worst of all oppressions.

The clergy of the Valteline are not responsible to the ordinary courts of justice, their immunities being so exorbitant as to render them almost independent of the civil authority. They are only amenable to the court of the bishop of Como. If a priest is guilty of any misdemeanor, his person cannot be secured without the concurrence of the bishop, and governor of the district

in which the crime was committed. It is therefore extremely difficult to bring an ecclesiastic to justice, as impunity is easily purchased, either by securing the favor of the bishop's vicar or of the magistrate. Nor are these pernicious privileges confined merely to the clergy, but extend to all persons wearing an ecclesiastical dress, by the permission of the bishop of Como.

The Grisons have frequently endeavoured to annihilate these immunities, but always without effect. The nobles of the Valteline are interested to support the privileges of the clergy, because they can easily procure the permission of wearing the ecclesiastical dress, and because they can secure their property, by leaving their estates to the clergy at the extinction of all the heirs named in the succession. Such estates, called *beneficia gentilitia*, are very common in the Valteline, and cannot be seized for debt, or confiscated.

All civil causes of the clergy, below the value of two hundred livres³, are decided by the vicar of the bishop of Como: above that sum they are brought before the bishop. An appeal from his decision lies to the pope's nuncio at Lucern, from him to the ecclesiastical tribunal at Aquilea, and from thence to Rome.

³ Sixty-four Valteline livres = a pound sterling.

L E T T E R 77.

*Teglio — Sondrio — Anecdotes of the Painter
Ligario — Morbegno — Delebio.*

INSTEAD of proceeding by the nearest road from Tirano to Sondrio, I made a circuit by Teglio. I passed over the plain of Tirano, rich in all the productions of nature, and continued for some way at the foot of the northern ridge of mountains, which are highly cultivated to their very summits. Lower towards the south-east, and further towards the north-east, the tops of the rugged Alps make their appearance, glistening with snow. I passed through a continued vineyard, and the soil is so fertile, that corn, millet, flax, and hemp, are sown among the vines, which hang over them in beautiful festoons. Every village is adorned with a thick grove of chestnut-trees, whose rich and dark foliage produces a pleasing effect.

Teglio, the capital of the government of the same name, is situated upon the top of a mountain, about nine miles from Tirano, and twelve from Sondrio. It is a long straggling place, and contains about three hundred houses. Close to the town are the ruins of a fortress standing upon an insulated rock, and formerly esteemed of great strength. This elevated spot commands a very rich and extensive prospect from Tirano to the lower part of the valley beyond Sondrio, as far as Morbegno. The government of Teglio is said to comprise the twelfth part of the Valteline: it

is the most populous district, and contains about eight thousand souls. It produces in a good season much more corn than is sufficient for the consumption of its inhabitants, and rivals Sondrio and Tirano in the goodness of its wine.

Finding little at Teglio but the face of the country to excite my curiosity, I proceeded in my journey to Sondrio, through a tract equally cultivated with that which I had already passed. I descended by a gentle slope until I came to the Adda, which I followed, as it roars through the plain, sometimes confined in a narrow channel, sometimes expanding itself in a wider bed, and threatening the country with continual inundations.

Sondrio is the capital of the valley, the residence of the governor of the Valteline and of the vicar; but, like all the towns I have hitherto seen in this valley, it has a deserted appearance: there is little appearance of trade, and no animation. The town, partly built in a plain, and partly upon the sides of a rock, is placed in a very romantic situation, at the extremity of a narrow valley, and occupies both sides of the Malenco, a furious torrent which frequently overflows its banks. Many of the houses are very ancient; for I observed the arms of the Visconti, formerly the sovereigns of this country, painted upon their walls; these arms, representing an enormous serpent crushing a man between his teeth, are too remarkable to escape observation.

The Valteline, from its neighbourhood to Italy, has imbibed a taste for the fine arts, and there are many collections of pictures which are not unworthy of notice. This country, however, has produced few artists of any eminence. Pietro Ligario

Ligario is almost the only painter who deserves to be mentioned, and his name is scarcely known beyond the limits of the Valteline.

Ligario was born at Sondrio in 1686, of the ancient family of Ligario, which took its name from a neighbouring village of that appellation. Having discovered a lively genius, and a taste for the elegant arts, he was sent when very young to Rome, under the care of Lazaro Baldi, from whom he learnt that exactness of design which characterizes the Roman school. From thence he repaired to Venice, where he passed some time in studying that exquisite coloring, for which the Venetian masters are so remarkably distinguished. He made himself first known at Milan, where he met with some encouragement; and in 1727 he returned to the Valteline. He found, however, but little employment, until he was honored with the patronage of Count de Salis, Envoy from Great Britain to the Republic of the Grisons. As he rose in reputation his business increased; but, being always very poor, he was frequently compelled to finish his productions with such haste, as rendered it impossible to give all of them that perfection, which he was capable of bestowing. Hence arises that inequality which is so remarkable in his paintings.

There is scarcely a church in the Valteline which does not possess one of his pictures: the most capital of his pieces are the martyrdom of St. Gregory, in one of the churches at Sondrio, and St. Benedict, in the chapel of a nunnery near the town. These were his latest performances; and as they were, contrary to his usual custom, finished with great labor and exactness, may be

considered as the test, from which we ought to estimate his abilities as a painter. The figures are well grouped, the principal characters distinctly marked, and the expression of the heads is admirable: the style of coloring is lively without being gaudy, and chaste without being dull. A few days after he had painted St. Benedict, he was seized with a violent fever, and expired in 1752, in the 67th year of his age.

Ligario is described by the connoisseurs as a painter who united correctness of design to beauty of coloring. He is remarkable for grouping his figures to the best advantage, and his heads are drawn with a noble simplicity. He is, however, represented as too much inclined to an imitation of the antique: his figures often resemble statues; and the folds of his drapery fall with too much precision, like the wet drapery in the sculpture of the ancients. The character of his faces is chiefly Grecian; but it is remarked, that they are too similar to each other, and look like the portraits of persons who are of the same family; a circumstance not unusual to those, who too servilely copy the antique.

Beside painting, Ligario was skilled in music, mechanics, and agriculture, and has left behind him specimens of no ordinary acquaintance with each of those arts. He made, for his own amusement, an organ of very large dimensions, and constructed a clock with a cylindrical pendulum, remarkable for the accuracy of its movements. He was fond of rearing plants and simples, and was so much attached to the study of agriculture, that he wrote instructions to his family, upon the cheapest and best method of cultivation. He

endeavoured to infuse into his son and daughter, Cæsar and Victoria, a fondness for the polite arts. They both followed their father's profession, but although not without some degree of merit, they failed of equalling his reputation. Victoria was chiefly distinguished for her skill in vocal and instrumental music.

I rode this morning to see the painting of St. Benedict, at the nunnery about a mile and a half from Sondrio. After I had examined the painting, the abbess sent a message, desiring the favor of my company, which I accepted with pleasure. Upon entering the parlour, I made my obeisance to the abbess, who, in company with two nuns, was seated on the other side of the grate. After the usual compliments, and inquiries if I was pleased with the picture, wine and cakes were brought in. The wine was the produce of their own vineyards, and was excellent. The cakes were shaped like skulls and bones.

The abbess and her friends behaved with great ease and politeness; they asked many questions relating to England, natural to persons sequestered from society; and one of them apologized for their curiosity, by remarking, that women were not less inquisitive or less fond of talking, because they were shut up in a nunnery. The person who made this remark was pale, but not unhealthy; her figure was remarkably fine, and she had been very handsome: a disappointment in love, as I am informed, first induced her to take the veil, and to bury so much beauty and elegance in a convent. I was so much struck with her manner and address, that I could not help wishing she may never live to regret such a step,

and that she may feel all that ease and tranquillity of mind, which are expected, but not always found by those who take the veil.

I am just returned to Sondrio, from a small excursion I made to Morbegno and towards the extremity of the Valteline as far as Delebio. Near Sondrio the valley is about two miles in breadth, and remarkably fertile in vines and all kinds of grain. The right-hand chain of mountains is clothed almost from the bottom to its summit with a continued vineyard, which is esteemed to yield the best wine in the Valteline. I rode along the plain which stretches, without interruption, from Sondrio to the lake of Como. The middle part of this plain is occupied, and frequently overflowed by the unruly Adda, and being marshy yields nothing but coarse pasturage. The sides rise gradually into gentle acclivities, and display a rich variety of natural productions.

Morbegno lies on the left side of the Adda, at the foot of the southernmost chain. It is the handsomest town in the Valteline, and appears to have more shops, and to carry on more trade, than all the others united. Mr. Planta, the present podesta of Morbegno, no sooner heard of my arrival, than he politely waited upon me at the inn, and invited me to his house. Finding that I was desirous of proceeding to Delebio, he insisted upon accompanying me; and having ordered his carriage without delay, proposed an immediate departure, that we might return to his house by supper. This gentleman is the same person to whom I was obliged for so hospitable a reception at his house at Cernetz; and I am happy to find from all quarters, that he may be reckoned

among the few who act with honor and integrity in this land of extortion. When vicar of the Valteline, he discharged the duties of that important office with great credit, and has entered upon his government with the same spirit of integrity. There is a pleasure in receiving acts of politeness in a foreign country; but it is a double satisfaction to be obliged to persons whose characters are deserving of the highest esteem.

The road from Morbegno to Delebio runs along the foot of the chain of mountains, which separate the Valteline from the Venetian territories. This chain having a northern aspect yields few vines, but is richly clad with hanging groves of chestnut-trees, chequered with meadows and fields of corn. The Valteline expands gradually as we advanced towards the lake of Como: in this part the whole plain is chiefly a morass, exposed to the inundations of the Adda, which flows through it in a wide channel. The silk, which begins to be of great importance in the trade of this valley, is chiefly exported from Delebio, through Chiavenna, into Germany. Upon my return to Morbegno, I supped with Mr. Planta, and after the repast was entertained with an excellent concert.

In my return to Sondrio, I crossed the Adda opposite Morbegno, over a handsome stone bridge, and proceeded along a road carried at the foot, and along the sides of the northern chain of mountains. It was almost a continued vineyard, with millet, Turkish corn, flax, and hemp, growing between the ranges of vines.

The romantic beauties of the Valteline are greatly heightened by the numerous remains of

ancient fortresses and castles scattered throughout the country. They were all dismantled soon after the capitulation of Milan ⁴, from a recent experience, that the inability of the Grisons to provide them with sufficient garrisons, exposed them to the enemy, and rendered them for the most part a source of annoyance rather than of protection. It might be imagined, that some of these fortresses ought to have been retained for the purpose of awing the inhabitants: such an absolute confidence, however, is reposed by the Grisons in the guarantee of the country by the house of Austria, that they do not maintain a single soldier throughout the whole Valteline.

LETTER 78.

Commerce — Productions — Population — of the Valteline.

THE chief commerce of the Valteline is carried on with Milan and the Grisons. The principal exports of the country are wine and silk, which turn the balance of trade in its favor: they enable the inhabitants to exist without any manufactures, and help to supply the money which is exacted by the governors.

The wine is sent into the Grisons, Germany, the Venetian states, Bormio, and occasionally to Milan. Upon a rough calculation 73,000 soma, or horse-loads, are annually exported: this year the soma sold for a pound sterling, which may be considered its average value.

⁴ See Letter 89.

The filk is sent to England, Zurich, and Basle. The district of Delebio and Talomara produces the finest filk, the neighbourhood of Sondrio the next in quality, and the district of Tirano supplies an inferior sort. Three thousand pound of the finest sort, which is esteemed as good as the filk procured from Piedmont, is sent annually to England by way of Ostend.

The greatest part of the filk is wound in the Valteline, for which purpose there are filk mills in the principal districts.

Besides these commodities, the Valteline exports planks, cheese, butter, and cattle. The inhabitants receive from Milan corn, rice, salt, filken stuffs; from Germany and Switzerland cloth and linen; from Genoa spices, coffee, and sugar.

There are no manufactures in the Valteline, and almost all the menial trades are exercised by foreigners.

The population of the Valteline may be estimated from the following rough sketch:

Upper District contains	—	20,000 souls.
Government of Teglio	—	8,000
Middle District	—	18,000
Lower District	—	16,000
Total of the population	—	62,000

The cottages of the peasants, which are built of stone, are large, but gloomy, generally without glass windows: I entered several, and was every where disgusted with an uniform appearance of dirt and poverty. The peasants are mostly covered with rags, and the children have usually an unhealthy look, which arises from their wretched manner of living. Such a scarcity of

provisions has been occasioned by last year's drought, that the poor inhabitants have been reduced to the most extreme necessity. The price of bread was unavoidably raised so high, that in many parts the peasants could not purchase it; and their only food was for some time a kind of paste, made by pounding the hulls and stones of the grapes which had been pressed for wine, and mixing it with a little meal. Famine, added to their oppressed situation, reduced the inhabitants to the lowest condition of human misery, and numbers perished from absolute want. But it is a pleasure to reflect that they are in some measure relieved by the plentiful harvest of the present year.

Perhaps no part of Europe is more fruitful than the Valteline, and yet there is no country in which the peasants are more wretched.

Many reasons are to be assigned for the misery to which they are reduced. The first and principal cause is the form of government. The governors, as I have shown in a former letter, generally abuse the exorbitant authority intrusted to them by the laws, the peasants are imprisoned upon the slightest information; and as all transgressions are punished by fines, an accused person is seldom found innocent; so that a considerable number of peasants are annually ruined in the courts of justice.

Beside the individuals who are supposed to suffer for their own guilt, the parishes are subject to continual assessments, towards defraying the expenses for the trial and imprisonment of the poor parishioners: if the latter are unable to pay the sum required, it is demanded from the parish to which the criminal belongs. In this case it

frequently happens, that the assessments, instead of being laid upon the landholders, are imposed upon each hearth, by which means the chief burden falls upon the poor.

Another cause of their wretchedness proceeds from the present state of property. Few of the peasants are landholders; as from the continual oppression under which the people have groaned for above these two last centuries, the freeholds have gradually fallen into the hands of the nobles and Grisons, the latter of whom are supposed to possess half the estates in the Valteline. The tenants who take farms do not pay their rent in money, but in kind; a strong proof of general poverty. The peasant is at all the costs of cultivation, and delivers near half the produce to the landholder. The remaining portion would ill compensate his labor and expense, if he was not in some measure befriended by the fertility of the soil. The ground seldom lies fallow, and the richest parts of the valley produce two crops. The first crop is wheat, rye, or spelt, half of which is delivered to the proprietor; the second crop is generally millet, buck-wheat, maize, or Turkey corn, which is the principal nourishment of the common people: the chief part of this crop belongs to the peasant, and enables him in a plentiful year to support his family with some degree of comfort. The peasants who inhabit the districts which yield wine are the most wretched: for the trouble and charge of rearing the vines, of gathering and pressing the grapes, is very considerable; and they are so very apt to consume the share of liquor allotted to them in intoxication, that, were it not for the grain intermixed

with the vines, they and their families would be left almost entirely destitute of subsistence.

Besides the business of agriculture, some of the peasants attend to the cultivation of silk. For this purpose they receive the eggs from the landholder, rear the silk-worms, and are entitled to half the silk. This employment is not unprofitable; for although the rearing of the silk-worms is attended with much trouble, and requires caution, yet as the occupation is generally intrusted to the women, it does not take the men from their work.

With all the advantages, however, derived from the fertility of the soil, and the variety of its productions, the peasants cannot, without the utmost difficulty, and a constant exertion, maintain their families; and they are always reduced to the greatest distress, whenever the season is unfavorable to agriculture.

To the causes of penury among the lower classes above enumerated, may be added the natural indolence of the people, and their tendency to superstition, which takes them from their labor. Upon the whole, I have not, in the course of my travels, seen any peasantry, except in Poland, so comfortless as the inferior inhabitants of this valley. They enjoy indeed one great advantage over the Poles, in not being the absolute property of the landholder, and transferable, like cattle. They are therefore at liberty to live where they chuse, to quit their country, and seek a better condition in other regions; a relief to which distress often compels them to have recourse.

Chiavenna, August 15.

I quitted Sondrio yesterday after dinner, and went up the valley of Malenco; yielding vines, chesnut-trees, rye, oats, and pasturage. As I ascended, the sides of the mountains were clothed with birch and firs; and their summits produced nothing but a scanty herbage. The inhabitants of this valley appear healthier, better clothed, and more industrious, than the other peasants of the Valteline. In consequence of their distance from the seat of government, or of being in general too poor to excite the rapaciousness of the Grison governors, they are, perhaps, less oppressed, and for the most part possess a small portion of land. The valley is narrow, and watered by a torrent, which forms a continued cataract. The road is a faint path, by the side of a precipice, and carried over huge fragments of rocks. I passed the night in a solitary hut at the bottom of the Muret; the next morning mounted a rugged ascent in the channel of a small stream; observed nothing but bare rocks, without the least appearance of vegetation; came to the top of the Muret, and passed over a large mass of snow and ice.

In these alpine situations the traveller sees, within the space of a few hours, nature in all her shapes. In the Valteline she is rich and fertile; here she is barren and stupendous. These regions are so dreary and desolate, that if it were not for an occasional traveller, the flights of a few strange birds, the goats browsing on the rugged alps, and the shepherds who tend them, nature would appear quite inanimate. In these elevated spots, while I was

"Placed above the storm's career,"

I noticed the pleasing effect produced by the vapors and mists floating in mid air beneath me; circumstances finely felt and described by the author of the Minstrel.

"And oft the craggy cliff he lov'd to climb,

"When all in mist the world below was lost:

"What dreadful pleasure there to stand sublime,

"Like shipwreck'd mariner on desert coast,

"And view the enormous sea of vapor, lost

"In billows lengthening to the horizon round

"Now scoop'd in gulphs, with mountains now emboss'd!"

From the top of the Muret I descended about three hours a craggy, desolate, and uninhabited country; and noticed the gradual increase of vegetation as I approached the road leading to Chiavenna, a little above Casazza. This passage over the Muret, which serves for the transportation of wine and other merchandise from the Valteline to the Grisons, is only open about five months in the year.

LETTER 79.

Chiavenna — Valley of St. Giacomo — Chapel of St. Gulielmo.

Chiavenna, Sept. 16.

MY correspondence with you has been for some time interrupted by a disorder which has detained me in these parts above six weeks. The day after my arrival from the Valteline, I was

seized with a lassitude, which I attributed to the fatigue of the journey; it ended in a violent pain and swelling of my right-hand, the effects of a rheumatism, which probably seized me the night I passed at the bottom of the Muret: not being able to procure a bed, I slept in the hay-loft, and suffered much from the piercing north wind, which blew from the glacier. I likewise imprudently walked the next morning, without intermission or refreshment, for the space of seven hours, from the top of the Muret to Bondo, so that the cold and fatigue brought on a rheumatic complaint which has detained me here six weeks. During great part of the time I wore my arm in a sling, and was incapable of writing a line. What I most regret in this delay is, that I have been prevented from being present at a general diet of the Grisons, which was held at Davos the latter end of last month.

The county of Chiavenna came under the sovereignty of the Grisons in the same manner and at the same time with the Valteline. During the war of the Valteline it frequently changed its masters, but at the peace of Milan was finally restored to the Grisons. It is ruled, like the other subject provinces, by a Grison governor, who is called Commissary, and who in a few instances is even less limited in his power than the judges of the Valteline.

The criminal court of justice is formed by the commissary and the assessor. The latter is appointed by the commissary, from three candidates nominated by the county. He must attend all examinations, concur in ordering torture for the conviction of a criminal, be present when it is

inflicted, and ratify the final sentence: but as the assessor owes his place to the commissary, and shares in his exactions, he is a mere cipher, and never ventures to exert his right of interposing a negative. This circumstance renders the courts of justice in Chiavenna more uniformly iniquitous than even those of the Valteline: for the close union between the commissary and assessor almost precludes a chance of redress, and gives unbounded scope to oppression. It would be unnecessary to describe the mode of proceeding established in this court of justice, as it is similar to that of the Valteline. In civil causes the commissary receives five *per cent.* of the contested property; and an appeal from his decision may be submitted to the syndicate.

Chiavenna, the capital of the county, is situated at the foot and upon the side of a mountain, and contains about 3,000 souls. The inhabitants carry on but little commerce. The principal article of exportation (excepting the stone pots mentioned in a former letter ⁵) is raw silk. The whole county produces about 3,600 pounds of that commodity. A manufacture of silk stockings, the only one in the town, has been lately established. The neighbouring country is covered with vineyards; but the wine is of a meagre sort, and only a small quantity is exported. The great support of Chiavenna is the transport of merchandise, this town being the principal communication between the Milanese and Germany. From hence the goods are sent either by Coire into Germany, or through Pregalia and the Engadinas

⁵ See Letter 69.

into the Tyrol. There is a duty laid by the Grisons upon all the merchandise which passes through Chiavenna; but this duty is so small, that the whole customs, including those in the Valte-line, are farmed for 17,000 florins, or about L. 1260 per annum.

The principal object of curiosity in the environs of Chiavenna is the fortrefs in ruins, seated upon the summit of a rock, which overlooks the town, and celebrated in the history of the Grisons for its almost impregnable strength. The only road which leads up to it is steep and craggy. The walls occupy a large space of ground, and are now partly covered with vines. The strongest part of the fortrefs was constructed upon an insulated rock, rent, as some persons conjecture, from the contiguous mountain, by a violent convulsion of nature. It is on all sides absolutely perpendicular, and its only communication with the castle was formed by a draw-bridge thrown across the intervening chasm. Others again⁶ suppose the separation of this rock from the remaining part of the fortrefs to have been the work of art, and affirm, that it was excavated in 1343, by order of Galeazzo Visconti. Its length is above 250 feet, its height about 200, and its greatest distance from the adjoining rock about 20 feet.

This fortification, though always deemed impregnable, was taken at different periods, sometimes by assault, but more frequently by famine

⁶ We may, perhaps, reconcile these two opinions, by admitting that the opening was originally occasioned by a violent convulsion of nature, but was afterwards enlarged and fashioned by art.

or *stratagem*. It was finally demolished by the Grisons themselves.

Cloſe to Chiavenna is a rock of aſbeſtos, a kind of mineral ſubſtance, of a greyiſh ſilver color, which can be drawn out into longitudinal fibres as fine as thread, and is ſuppoſed to be indeſtrucible by fire; the ancients manufactured it into a ſpecies of cloth reſembling linen. This ſpecies of cloth is frequently mentioned by Pliny. It was principally uſed for ſhrouds, in which the bodies of the great were enveloped before they were placed upon the funeral pile; and which, not being liable to be conſumed by fire, preſerved the aſhes of the body ſeparate from thoſe of the wood. The art of weaving the aſbeſtos into linen is not loſt, as ſome authors have aſſerted: but as it is very troubleſome and expenſive, and as the cuſtom of burning bodies, which gave it a value, is no longer in uſe, the manufacture is diſcontinued. Beſide the rock of aſbeſtos juſt mentioned, near Chiavenna, ſeveral mountains in theſe parts yield the ſame ſubſtance. The beſt fort is found in the mountains that border the valley of Malenco, of which I have ſeen many very fine ſpecimens.

Upon quitting Chiavenna, I entered the valley of St. Giacomo, which is narrow, and watered by the torrent Lira. It is part of the county of Chiavenna, contains about ten pariſhes, is under the jurifdiction of the commiſſary, and poſſeſſes ſeveral important privileges, that preſerve the inhabitants from the oppreſſion which their neighbours endure.

All the cauſes are tried in the valley. The criminal ſtatutes are the ſame as thoſe of Chiavenna, with this difference only, that inſtead of the

the assessor the valley chuses four persons, who are always present at the examination; and without whose concurrence torture cannot be inflicted, nor sentence passed.

The valley has its own code of civil jurisprudence, and courts independent of the commissary, from the decision of which there lies an appeal to the diet.

The lower part of the valley produces vines and corn: the upper part rye, barley, and pasture, mixed with large groves of fir and pine. I passed on my left hand the church of St. Guglielmo, which I mention because it is supposed to have been erected in honor of William king of Sicily. This William was the last sovereign of the male branch of the Norman line, which commenced in Count Roger, who conquered Sicily from the Saracens in the latter end of the eleventh century.

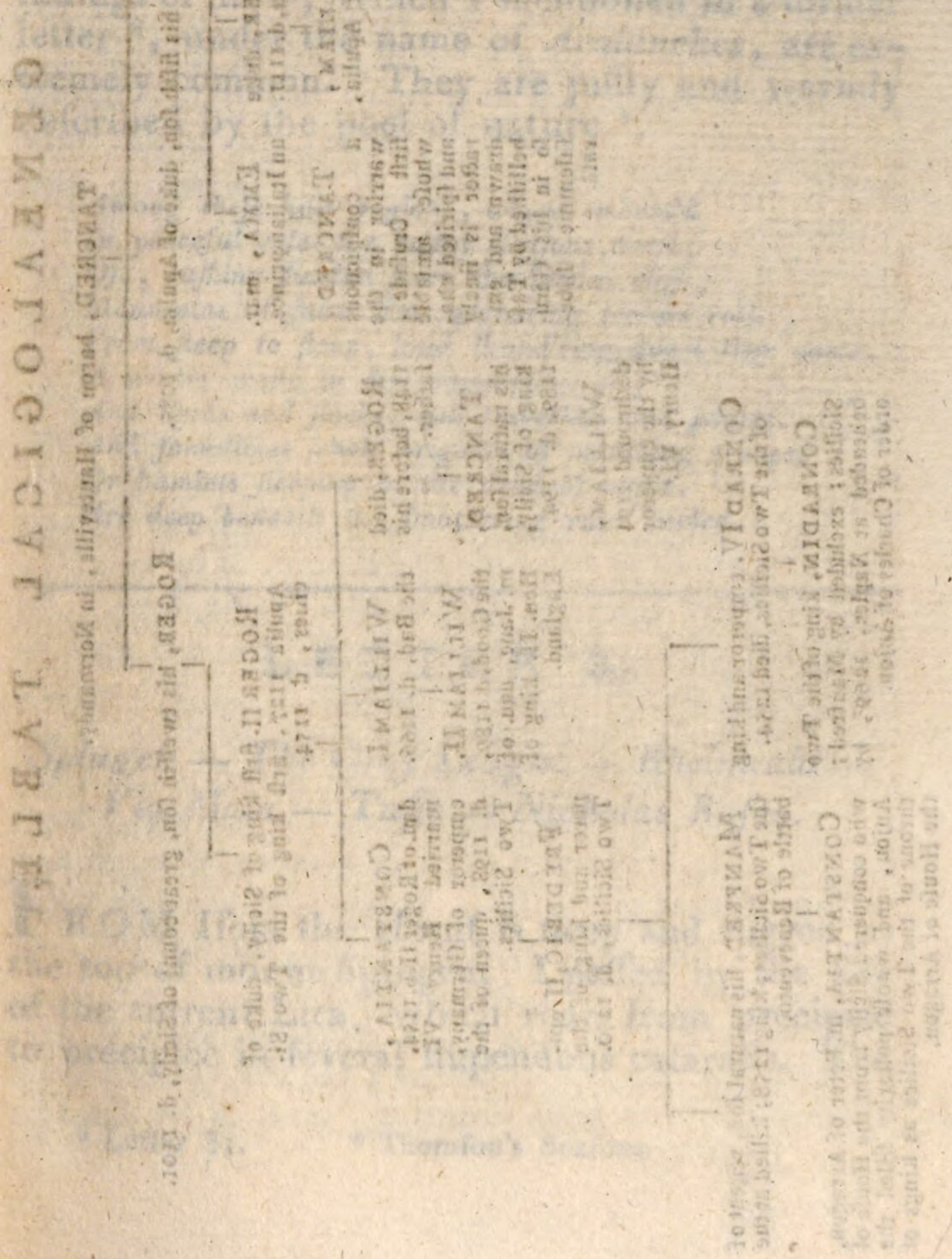
Roger was twelfth son of Tancred of Hauteville, a Norman baron, and brother of the celebrated Robert Guiscard, the bravest of those brave Norman adventurers⁷ who sallied from their native country, formed a flourishing but temporary establishment in the southern parts of Italy, and furnished by their exploits such ample materials for history and romance. The son of Count Roger, who inherited the name and spirit of his father, erected Sicily into a kingdom: at the extinction of the male line of Robert Guiscard

⁷ I would refer the curious reader to Mr. Gibbon's ample and accurate narrative of the history and exploits of these Norman adventurers, in the tenth volume of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

in the person of William, duke of Apulia, he annexed Apulia and Calabria to Sicily, and reigned over those territories, under the title of the Two Sicilies, which now comprehend the present kingdom of Naples and Sicily. The throne of Roger was successively filled by his son William the First, surnamed the *Bad*, and by his grandson William the Second, distinguished by the name of *Good*. On the demise of the latter without issue male, the Sicilians set aside Constantia, daughter of Roger, and wife of the emperor Henry the Sixth, and elected Tancred, illegitimate grandson of the first king. Tancred died in 1193; and William, his only surviving son, was crowned while an infant. Being dethroned by the emperor Henry the Sixth, who claimed the Two Sicilies in right of his wife Constantia, he was imprisoned, together with his mother Sibilla, in the fortress of Ems, near Coire. Some authors assert that he was deprived of his sight, others that he was castrated, by order of Henry. Some relate that he died in prison, others that he was released, together with his mother Sibilla; that he accompanied her to France, but growing weary of the world retired to this spot, and passed the latter part of his days as an hermit, with such a reputation of sanctity, that he was canonized after his death. Such contradictory accounts occur frequently in the history of the darker ages. Muratori, who from his insight into the ancient records of those ages, is the most capable of solving this difficulty, leaves the question undecided; but seems rather inclined to believe, that William was

released from his captivity, and that he afterwards turned hermit.

As the genealogy of the Norman line is very complicated and obscure, and erroneously represented by many writers, I shall here subjoin a table of those sovereigns and their principal descendants.



GENEALOGICAL TABLE

TANCRED, baron of Hauteville, in Normandy.

ROBERT GUISCARD, his fifth son, duke of Apulia, d. 1085.

ROGER, his twelfth son, great count of Sicily, d. 1101.

BOHEMOND, prince of Tarento, and sovereign of Antioch, by conquest from the Turks in the first Crusade, d. 1110.

ROGER, duke of Apulia, d. 1111.

WILLIAM, duke of Apulia, d. 1127.

EMMA, mar. an Italian prince.

TANCRED, a conspicuous warrior in the first Crusade, whose amiable and spirited character is finely drawn and embellished by Tasso in his Gerusalemme Liberata.

ROGER, died 1148, before his father.

WILLIAM I. the Bad, d. 1166.

TANCRED, his natural son, king of Sicily, 1189, d. 1194.

WILLIAM II. the Good, d. 1189, m. Jane, dau. of Hen. II. king of England.

CONSTANTIA, dau. of Roger II. b. 1154, married Henry VI. emperor of Germany, d. 1198, queen of the Two Sicilies.

FREDERIC, II. emperor and king of the Two Sicilies, d. 1250.

WILLIAM, dethroned 1194 by the emperor Henry VI.

CONRAD IV. emperor and king of the Two Sicilies, died 1254.

CONRADIN, king of the Two Sicilies; excluded by Manfred; beheaded at Naples, 1269, by order of Charles of Anjou.

MANFRED, his natural son, regent of the Two Sicilies; king 1258; killed at the battle of Benevento.

CONSTANTIA, m. Peter of Arragon, who conquered Sicily from the House of Anjou, and whose posterity filled the throne of the Two Sicilies as kings of the House of Arragon.

I employed about three hours in mounting from Chiavenna to the pleasant plain of Campo Dolcino, and ascended from the extremity of that plain to Isola, the last village in the valley of St. Giacomo, from whence I am now writing.

In these parts, where mountains rise over mountains, and alps tower above alps, those fallings of snow, which I mentioned in a former letter ⁸, under the name of *Avalanches*, are extremely common. They are justly and warmly described by the poet of nature ⁹.

*Among these hilly regions, where embrac'd
In peaceful vales the happy Grisons dwell;
Oft, rushing sudden from the loaded cliffs,
Mountains of snow their gathering terrors roll.
From steep to steep, loud thund'ring down they come,
A wintry waste in dire commotion all;
And herds and flocks, and travellers and swains,
And sometimes whole brigades of marching troops,
Or hamlets sleeping in the dead of night,
Are deep beneath the smothering ruin hurled.*

L E T T E R 80.

*Splugen — The Grey League — Rheinwald —
Via Mala — Tufis — Nicholas Rusca.*

FROM Isola the ascent is steep and rugged to the top of mount Splugen. I passed by the side of the torrent Lira, which roars from precipice to precipice in several stupendous cataracts. The

⁸ Letter 31.

⁹ Thomson's Seasons.

road is hewn in the solid rock: in many parts it has the appearance of steps, in others is perforated through the mountains. In pursuing my way over this dreary tract, I was frequently reminded of the road down the Gemmi¹. Toward the summit of the Splugen there is an oval plain about two miles long and one broad, encircled with craggy points: it produces no trees, but yields rich pasturage. Near the summit I noticed several rude blocks of a whitish kind of marble.

I baited my horses at a small inn which stands at the extremity of the oval plain, and is the only house between the valley of St. Giacomo and Splugen. Before the door I observed at least a hundred horses laden with merchandise. Three hundred horses are said to pass daily in this season of the year.

Gently ascending from this oval plain, I observed the source of the Lira, which falls into the lake of Chiavenna, and soon afterwards crossed the highest ridge, on the other side of which the torrents flow towards the Rhine. The country is wild, and scarcely produces a single tree. As I descended lower, firs began to make their appearance; at first thinly scattered over the rocks, and gradually thickening into large forests. This passage over mount Splugen is principally used for the transport of merchandise to and from Coire: it is kept open even in winter, though not without great difficulty. In that season the merchandises are chiefly transported on sledges, of which forty or fifty pass in a day.

The territory of the Grey League, into which I have just entered, occupies all the eastern tract of this mountainous country, and is by far the

¹ Letter 33.

most considerable, in extent as well as population, of the three Grifon leagues. The etymology of the word Grigia, or *Grey*, which gives its name to this league and the whole country, is extremely uncertain. Some authors have conjectured, that the people of this district were the original inhabitants of the country, and that they were called *Grey*, in order to distinguish them from the more modern inhabitants, by an allusion to *grey* hairs, an emblem of antiquity. Others, on the contrary, dating this appellation from more modern times, assert that the first authors of the revolution, which, in 1424, gave liberty to the several communities in the Grey League, were dressed in the coarse *grey* cloth of the country; and that in commemoration of this great event the league was called *Grey* from their dress. It is certain, however, that this appellation is of very high antiquity, and existed long before the revolution in question. Tacitus calls the inhabitants of this country *Rhætos Griseos, id est, canos*; and Ammianus Marcellinus styles the country about Coire, *Canos campos*, or the *Grey Fields*. Hence it appears how very fruitless must be any investigation concerning the true etymology of this word, which lies hid in very remote antiquity, beyond the reach of our most inquisitive researches. Without entering therefore, too minutely into etymological disquisitions, we may only remark in general, that the term Grisons or, *Grey people*, was the general name by which *all* the inhabitants of Rhetia were distinguished, and was not confined to that particular district now called the Grey league. The appropriation of the term to that particular body, may be thus

accounted for. When the inhabitants of this district first rose in arms, for the purpose of asserting their independence, they naturally styled themselves, the League of the people called Grisons, or the *Grey League*; while those of the two other leagues, who afterwards formed similar associations, although equally known by the name of Grisons, took other appellations to distinguish themselves from the first confederacy.

The territory now occupied by the Grey League, was formerly subject to the abbot of Disentis, the counts of Werdenberg, of Sax, of Masox, and the baron of Retzuns. The people seem to have originally possessed considerable privileges, which were gradually undermined, and occasionally violated by their chiefs and barons; the latter, being engaged in perpetual hostilities with each other, laid great exactions upon their subjects, in order to pay their troops, who could only be prevented from disbanding by repeated largesses. These exactions were at length carried to such an excess, and the people so wantonly oppressed by the tyranny of their despots, that, excited by the example of the neighbouring Swiss republics, they determined to deliver themselves from the grievous subjection under which they labored.

The meeting of the insurgents was by no means attended with any unwarrantable excesses, naturally to be expected from an enraged populace, but was conducted with the greatest composure. The leading members of the several communities having previously concerted the plan, a solemn deputation was dispatched to the respective sovereigns, who were assembled at Truns: the deputies laid

the several grievances before the chiefs, from whom they not only extorted redress, but also procured a confirmation of several obsolete privileges, and the addition of many others. In consideration of these concessions, the chiefs reserved to themselves certain prerogatives, which some of their descendants or successors possess at this day; a distinction which is now peculiar to this league, and renders its general constitution in some respects more aristocratical than that of the other two leagues.

These prerogatives consist in being present at the annual diet of the league, and in alternately proposing three candidates for *Landrichter*, or chief of the league, from whom one is nominated by the deputies. The counts Werdenberg being extinct, the prerogatives just mentioned are now confined to the emperor of Germany, as baron of Rhetzuns, the abbot of Disentis, and the temporary count of Sax. No real count of Sax now exists; for, upon the extinction of that family, certain communities² of the Grey League seized the domains, and continue to exercise the rights which were formerly enjoyed by the counts of Sax.

The mode of creating a titular count, for the purpose of exercising these rights, is as follows: A few days before the meeting of the diet of the league assembled at Truns, the communities in question reciprocally elect a person who represents the count. He is called in Romanish³ *Cau de Saxe*, and, although not unfrequently a common

² These communities are Lungnets and Vals, Ilants and Grub, Plims and Castris.

³ Literally *head* of Sax. *Cau* is supposed to be a corruption from *caput*.

peasant, sits, at the diet, upon the same bench with the representative of the House of Austria and the abbot of Disentis, is addressed by a title equal to his supposed dignity, nominates the Landrichter every third year, and, having discharged his office, sinks at the expiration of a few days into his ordinary rank.

Another distinction peculiar to the Grey League ought not to be omitted. Like the other leagues, the particular districts possess their courts of criminal justice in the last resort; but in all civil causes above a certain value there lies an appeal from the decision of the several courts to sixteen deputies annually assembled at Truns. I only mention the fact in this place, but shall have occasion to enlarge upon it in a future letter.

Splugen, situated upon the rise of a hill, at the bottom of a rugged chain of alps, is the principal place in the valley of Rheinwald which forms a high jurisdiction of the Grey League. The Rheinwald is so called from the Hynder Rhine, which takes its rise upon the Vogelsberg, at about the distance of twelve miles, and runs through this valley. It was my intention to have visited this source, but my late indisposition will not permit me at present to take fatiguing journeys in these mountainous regions.

The inhabitants of the Rheinwald speak German, although they are entirely surrounded by people who use a different language. Towards the south, beyond the mountains of Splugen and St. Bernardin, in the valleys of St. Giacomo and Masox, Italian is the common tongue: towards the north and east, in the valleys of Schams, of St. Peter, and of Lugnetz, Romansh is spoken.

This remarkable circumstance has led many authors to conjecture that the people of this and other districts of the Grisons, who talk German, are descended from the *Lepontii*, supposed to be a Celtic nation, and considered as the original inhabitants of this country, before the establishment of the Rhetians. As I shall have occasion to examine this subject more fully in a future letter ⁴ upon the languages of the Grisons, I shall for the present only remark, that although the inhabitants of this district are immediately encircled by people who talk Italian and Romansh, yet the German language is spoken at Avers, Cepia, Tufis, and Fursienau, which are only at a small distance from the Rheinwald.

I quitted, on the other side of mount Splugen, the Italian climate and productions: the air of this valley is so piercing, that we may agree with the proverb, "there are nine months winter and three months cold." Two high roads meet at Splugen, one from Chiavenna, which I traversed yesterday, the other leads over the Bernard into Bellinzona.

From Splugen to Arder the road continues by the side of the Hynder Rhine, through a mountainous region, which presents at every step the most awful magnificence of scenery.

The inhabitants of Suffers, the last village of the Rheinwald, talk German; and at a small distance I entered the valley of Schams, where I heard the peasants speaking Romansh. I made myself tolerably understood by a kind of jargon, composed of German, Italian, and Romansh. I

⁴ See Letter 90.

took out my vocabulary of the Engadina language, and compared the different modes of expression and pronunciation. The inhabitants call their language Romanſh; but it differs widely from the Romanſh ſpoken in the valley of Surſet, and ſtill more from that of the Engadinas. The Bible and other books uſed in this valley, are in the ſame dialect as thoſe which are read in the other parts of the Grey League, and the language is ſimilar, with a ſmall variety in the pronunciation.

The valley of Schams, a community of the Grey League, contains eight or nine inconfiderable burghs or villages ſituated at ſmall diſtances upon each ſide of the Rhine. It is much lower and more fruitful than the Rheinwald. I croſſed the Rhine at Zillis, leaving on my left hand Donat, where the collective body of the people meet every year to chuſe their magiſtrates, and regulate all civil and political affairs. Soon afterwards I came into the *Via Mala*, ſo called from the ſuppoſed difficulties and dangers of paſſing through it. Such dreadful deſcriptions have been given by different travellers, that I expected to have found it the worſt road which I had hitherto travelled. But I was agreeably deceived, for it was not more incommodious than the way from Splugen to Arder; nor did I once think it neceſſary even to diſmount from my horſe, except when I ſtopped to take a nearer view of any particular ſcene which ſtruck my fancy: the road even admits carriages. No reaſon occurs to me, why this particular way ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Via Mala*, unleſs ſuch deſcriptions allude to former times, and modern writers have adopted them as the mere echos of ancient travellers.

Perhaps the peculiar gloom of the valley, through which the road passes, may have helped to convey these ideas of terror to persons not accustomed to Alpine regions.

The Via Mala runs through a dark and uninhabited valley, overspread in many parts with thick forests, which admit only a kind of twilight gloom, and so exceedingly narrow, that the steep rocks, which enclose it, hang over, and seem almost to meet towards their summits. The Rhine foams at the bottom, sometimes not visible, and sometimes faintly glimmering through

“ ——— darksome pines, that, o’er the rocks reclin’d,

“ Wave high, and murmur to the hollow wind.”

POPE.

About three miles from the commencement of the Via Mala we came to a stone-bridge of a single arch, thrown across a gulf; a sublime scene, which I stopped to admire, and which I left with regret. The Rhine falls in a beautiful cascade, rolls in a narrow channel at the depth of above four hundred feet perpendicular, furiously dashes under the bridge, expands itself into a wide basin, and then is lost under a rock, through which it has forced a passage. The impending mountains, partly bare, and partly embrowned with firs, cast an awful gloom over the gulf beneath.

I was here greatly struck with one circumstance, which I examined with much attention, and which I had observed in several other valleys of Switzerland, but never in such perfection as in this place. The Rhine, which is at present about four hundred feet below the bridge, seems evidently

to have once flowed as high, or even higher than the place where the bridge now stands; to have gradually worn away the rock, and excavated the deep channel in which it now runs.

Having passed the bridge, I went through a subterraneous opening a few paces in length, which had been cut through the overhanging rock, and a little further crossed a second bridge similar to the first.

Soon afterwards I quitted the Rhine, and began ascending. This part of the country is so entirely uninhabited, that I did not meet with a single house until I came to Roncalia, a village in the community of Tufis, upon the top of a steep mountain. From thence I descended to Tufis, situated near the torrent Nolla, at the beginning of the valley of Tomliasca. This town is said by the antiquaries to have been built by the Tuscans, when they took refuge in these parts under Rhætus.

Tufis is well known in the history of the Grisons for the *Staffgericht*, or court of justice, which sat in 1618, for the trial of persons accused of holding a correspondence with Spain, and of opposing the introduction of the Protestant religion into the Valteline. Amongst those who suffered in this iniquitous tribunal, the most remarkable was Nicholas Rusca, whom I had occasion to mention in my letter on the troubles of the Valteline, the cruel circumstances of whose death excited the general resentment of the Catholics, who soon afterwards broke out into open rebellion.

Nicholas Rusca, a native of Bedano, in the bailliage of Locarno, was educated in the Jesuits' college at Milan, at the expense of cardinal

Boromeo, and made so great a progress in his studies, that, in 1589, he was appointed principal of the church of Sondrio, although he was only in the 24th year of his age. He immediately signalized himself by his zeal in preaching against the reformed doctrines; and was one of the disputants who supported the Roman Catholic faith against the Protestant ministers, in two public conferences held at Tirano in 1595, and the following year. His character has been placed in the most opposite lights by the respective historians of the two contending parties: by the one he is represented a saint, and by the other an assassin. But if we examine with impartiality, it will appear, that though he was hurried on by a violent spirit of fanatical zeal, yet he cannot be supposed guilty of the atrocious crimes which his enemies have laid to his charge. Soon after his promotion to the benefice of Sondrio, a misunderstanding broke out between him and the Protestants, which gradually increased during the violence of the religious disputes, and was carried upon the following occasion to the highest degree of animosity.

One Chiappinus, and three gondoliers of Venice, were arrested under suspicion of a design to assassinate Scipio Calandrinus, the Protestant minister of Sondrio, at the instigation of Rusca; a confession of guilt and of Rusca's privity being drawn from Chiappinus by the force of torture. The governor of the Valteline referring the affair to the diet of the Grisons, Rusca was cited before that assembly, but declined to appear; either, as his enemies pretend, from a consciousness of guilt, or, as his friends alledge, from a dread of putting himself in the power of the Grisons, so

violently incensed against him. Having escaped from the Valteline, he waited at Bedano while his cause was publicly pleaded before twelve judges deputed by the Grisons. Being acquitted of the charge, he returned to Sondrio, where his zeal, inflamed by his late prosecution, continued to display itself by an unremitting opposition to the establishment of a Protestant school at Sondrio; a favorite measure of the opposite party.

His enemies, baffled, in their first attempt, brought against him a charge of a more public nature: they accused him of opposing the decrees of the Grisons, and of exhorting the inhabitants of Morbegno not to bear arms against the king of Spain, the protector of the Catholic religion. In consequence of these insinuations, a troop of sixty Grisons arrived at Sondrio by night, and, seizing Rusca, carried him to Tufis, where he was not only impeached of high treason in the temporary court of justice there assembled, but was likewise again examined, contrary to every principle of equity, for having abetted the assassination of Calandrinus: as he peremptorily denied these charges, he was condemned to be tortured; which horrid sentence was three times inflicted in the dead of night. The execution of the sentence failing to extort from him the smallest confession of guilt, he was, on the following night, twice subjected to a repetition of the same dreadful process. Being of a weak frame, and full of infirmities, he was overcome by excess of agony, and expired amidst the torments ^s.

Some

^s *Die Dominica, quæ Augusti 25 erat, ter sine tamen pondere elevatus fuit; perstititque in negativa, sæpius misericordiam*

Some writers have asserted, that Rusca died of poison, which he had taken previous to his last examination; but this supposition seems to be totally devoid of foundation, and was only advanced in order to rescue the judges from the odium of having tortured him to death. For when it is considered, that, according to the common mode of applying torture in this country, he was five times drawn up by a pulley, with his arms tied behind, so as to occasion a dislocation of his shoulders; that he remained in that excruciating position above half an hour each time; and that he was in an infirm state of body, unable to endure such extremity of pain, we have no occasion to seek for any extraordinary cause of his death.

The advocates for the Protestant party in vain endeavour to exculpate Rusca's judges from an intolerant spirit of bigotry, by asserting that the whole transaction was a civil and not a religious process; for it is evident that theological rancor, however disguised under the mask of patriotism, was the leading motive to this prosecution. Independent indeed of all theoretical reasoning, every rational Christian, whatever his persuasion may be, must recoil with horror from enormities so inconsistent with the first principles of

Dei ac hominum implorans, quas voces dolor tormentorum ipse exprimebat, erat enim homo crebris febribus vexatus, ac proinde sustinendi torturam impos erat. Sequenti die lunæ, facies illi velo obtegatur, ne a quoquam signum habere queat ullum, & bis absque tamen pondere elevatur: tumque observatus est spiritus deficere, & cum solveretur tortura jam exspiraverat, tenens linguam dentibus admorsam sic ut sanguis adpareret. Aporta, Hist. Reform. Eccl. Ræt. vol. II. p. 268, 269.

humanity, and contradictory to the meekness of that religion, which ought to be the rule of our actions ⁶.

LETTER 81.

Valley of Tomliasca — Retzuns — Reichenau.

Coire, Sept. 21st.

FROM Tufis I continued my route along the valley of Tomliasca, by the side of the Rhine, which here separates the Grey League from that of the House of God: numerous towns, villages, and castles ⁷, lie agreeably scattered through the vale in the most romantic situations. I passed through Catzis, leaving on my left the fruitful mountain of Henzenberg, called in Romanish Montagnia, and remarkable in these parts for its fertility and population. I then proceeded to Retzuns, and turned a little out of my way to

⁶ Mr. Aporta, with the impartiality of an honest historian, speaking of the iniquitous acts of this tribunal, says, "*Deum immortalem! Quid est carbonem irritare, hostes studio conquirere ac in se concitare, summis ima miscere, si hoc non erat? Nullus tamen actus majorem huic tribunali invidiam conciliavit quam subita mors Nicolai Rusca, qui tormentis solutus sub judicium oculis exspiravit.*" Hist. Ref. Eccl. Ræt. vol. II. p. 266.

⁷ Guler, the historian of Rhetia, says, that no region of Europe contains such a number of ancient castles as the country of the Grisons; and adds, that in the small valley of Tomliasca, not more than a German mile long, and a quarter broad, there are more than seventeen castles.

the castle of that name, which makes so conspicuous a figure in the history of the Grisons. Antiquarians derive the name of Retzuns from *Rhætium* or *Rhætia Ima* (Lower Rhætia), and give the following account of its construction. In the early ages of the Roman history a numerous army of Gauls penetrated into Lombardy, and took possession of the greatest part of that country, which was then occupied by the Tuscans. A considerable body of the latter being driven from their native country accompanied their leader, Rhætus, into these Alps, and established themselves in these regions. Rhætus gave his own name to the whole region, and constructed that fortress which he called Rhætia Ima, since corrupted into Retzuns. Livy relates the emigration of the Tuscans into these parts without mentioning the name of their leader, who is called Rhætus by Pliny and Justin; and the number of places still existing in these alps, which bear a resemblance to that appellation, seem strong testimonies in favor of this account.

But as events of such high antiquity will always be liable to much doubt, let us descend to later times, which admit of no dispute. The castle was the residence of a baron, who possessed the adjacent territory, and was called Baron of Retzuns. His name frequently occurs in the ancient history of this country, when the territory of the Grisons was divided into several petty sovereignties. He is also mentioned among the chiefs, who assembled in 1424 at Truns, and confirmed and enlarged the privileges of the people, when the several communities united and formed the Grey League. At that time the baron

reserved to himself certain prerogatives, which are now possessed by his successors. In 1459, the male line being extinct, the barony descended to a collateral branch, and in 1470 came by purchase into the possession of the emperor Maximilian the First. Ferdinand the First mortgaged the barony for 14,000 florins to John Planta, in whose family it continued until the year 1679, when it was redeemed by the emperor Leopold, and it now belongs to his grand-daughter Maria Teresa, the present empress⁸. The revenues of this territory are very small, amounting to 2,000 florins, or scarcely *L. 200 per ann.*; but by the possession of it the House of Austria enjoys considerable influence in the political affairs of the Grisons.

The delegate of the empress, who is called Administrator, has a vote in the diet of Truns, and nominates every third year the *Landrichter*, or Chief of the Grey League.

Being desirous of seeing the castle, I sent my compliments to the Austrian delegate, who instantly made his appearance, and politely attended me round the castle. The present building was raised by Leopold, upon the foundation of the ancient structure, of which there are scarcely any remains. I could not, upon the closest inspection, discern the slightest traces of Roman workmanship.

This castle is the usual residence of the Austrian Envoy to the Republic of the Grisons; but as the present envoy dwells in his own house at Reichenau, it is now occupied by the Austrian

⁸ The empress was alive when I wrote this letter: on her decease it descended to Joseph II. and on his death to his brother Leopold.

delegate. It is situated upon an eminence, and commands a fine view of the adjacent country. The rich plain, which extends as far as Reichenau, is bounded on all sides by high mountains, and yields, among other productions, abundance of wheat. The Lower Rhine flows through it in a wide and stony channel.

The delegate finding, during our conversation, that I had a letter of recommendation from Count Firmian to the Austrian Envoy at Reichenau, invited me to dinner, and politely offered to accompany me in the afternoon to Reichenau; an invitation which I made no scruple to accept. The company at table consisted of the administrator, his wife, and a capuchin friar. The lady spoke nothing but Romanish, so that I was not able to enjoy much of her conversation. I could only drink her health, and make her a short compliment, which I had learned by rote. I held a long conversation, in the French tongue, with the administrator, upon the barony of Retzuns, on which subject he kindly gave me the following information. As delegate of the empress of Germany, he has a kind of territorial jurisdiction over the village and district of Retzuns. The barony of Retzuns comprises the villages of Retzuns, Bonadutz, Embs, and Feldsberg, which form a High Jurisdiction in the Grey League, and send two deputies to the general diet of the Grisons; the people are free; they assemble annually in the court of the castle to elect their magistrates, when every male at the age of fourteen has a vote. The delegate nominates the Landamman from three candidates appointed by the people: the empress receives the fines for criminal

offences, and pays the expenses of the process; the prisoners are confined in the castle, but are tried by judges chosen by the people.

After dinner I accompanied my host through a rich and fertile plain to Reichenau, and waited upon Mr. Buol, the Austrian envoy, who received me with great attention and politeness; and obligingly invited me to remain some time at Reichenau; an invitation I declined for the present, through my impatience of arriving at Coire, where I expected to receive several letters from my friends in England, from whom I had not heard since my departure from Milan. Reichenau is situated upon the conflux of the two branches which form the Rhine. The lower branch is the same which I followed during the greatest part of its course from Splugen; the upper branch rises near the mountain of St. Gothard, and flows through the valley of Sopra Selva. The castle, or house of Mr. Buol, is placed in a most romantic situation upon a small eminence, a little above the junction, and the garden advances to the Rhine. At this place there are two bridges, which were built by the nephew of Grubenman, that deserve particular notice; one, which is thrown across the lower branch of the Rhine, measured thirty-five paces, or about a hundred and five feet. The second is built across the Rhine below the point of union, and forms a most beautiful object. It is a wooden bridge of a single arch, covered like that of Schaffhausen, and constructed upon the same plan, with this difference however, that the road is not carried in so perfect a level. The span of the arch is two hundred and twenty feet in length. As the

banks of the Rhine in this spot are more elevated than those of the same river at Schaffhausen, the bridge of Reichenau is raised considerably higher above the surface of the water than that of Schaffhausen ⁹. And as it presents also to the eye but a single curve, its general appearance is far more picturesque, and its effect more striking. But it is not near so beautiful a piece of architecture as the bridge of Wettingen, which is Grubenman's master-piece ¹. The more I examine these bridges, the more I am struck with the sublime simplicity of the structure; the more I am astonished, that the person who first conceived the plan was a common carpenter, totally unacquainted with the theory of mechanics, and indebted to a natural genius for having carried practical architecture to such perfection.

In my way from Reichenau to Coire I stopped at Embs, in order to inquire if there are any remains of an old castle, in which William, son of Tancred king of Sicily was confined. At present there is not the smallest vestige of such a fabric; but according to the tradition of the country it formerly stood upon a hill, whereon the church is now erected.

The valley from Reichenau to Coire is about two miles broad, and produces corn, pasture, and some vines, which begin to make their appearance near Embs. The Rhine flows through it with the rapidity of a torrent. Several insulated rocks are scattered on the banks of the river, some barren, others covered with wood, which greatly diversify the scenery. The chain

⁹ Letter 2.

¹ See Letter 13.

of mountains fronting the northern aspect is overspread with groves of fir, while the opposite ridge is richly clothed for some way with oaks, and its summits crowned with firs and pines. A little way beyond I entered the League of the House of God, and arrived in good time at Coire.

LETTER 82.

League of God's House — Town and Bishopric of Coire — Convent of St. Lucius.

THE whole territory, which is now comprised within the League of the House of God, was under the dominion of the bishop of Coire, until the people, oppressed by their rulers, threw off the yoke, and having formed a general league, compelled the bishop to ratify their independence.

The era of this important revolution is not precisely marked in the annals of this country. Some historians have even asserted, that it happened so early as the latter end of the fourteenth century, and was anterior to the formation of the Grey League. But this opinion does not seem to be grounded upon sufficient evidence; as the facts alledged in its support intimate little more than that the bishop granted several immunities to the inhabitants, but by no means prove, that the communities formed themselves into a league at such an early period, and afforded the *first*²

² Campell espouses this notion, and his authority undoubtedly carries great weight: but we must consider that

example of liberty in these parts. For that honor is undoubtedly due to the Grey League. This revolution, which finally exalted the league into its present state of freedom, probably took place between 1424, the era of the formation of the Grey League, and 1436, the year in which the Ten Jurisdictions rose into independence.

This league is denominated in Romanish *La Ligia de la Chiada* ³; in German, *Gotteshausbund*, from which we call it the *League of the House of God*: it takes this appellation as well from the cathedral situated in its capital, as from having once been under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Coire.

It is divided into eleven districts; each of which (Coire excepted) is subdivided into two little republics, or communities. By this arrangement the league comprehends twenty-one republics ⁴, and sends twenty-two deputies to the general diet.

Formerly the burgomaster of Coire was perpetual chief of the league without election, but in the latter end of the last century the other communities claimed a power of nominating to this office in their turn. The affair being referred to the arbitration of Zurich, it was decided, that for the future the twenty-two deputies of this league should chuse two candidates from the members of the senate of Coire; and that these two candidates

he grounds his opinion merely upon conjecture, and that, as a member of the League of God's House, he was inclined to give to that League the preference in point of antiquity over the Grey League.

³ *Chiada*, or as it is sometimes written, *Ca-de*, signifies cathedral. Hence the French call it *La Ligue Caddé*.

⁴ See Introduction.

should draw lots for the charge: a mode of election which is now in use. The chief thus appointed is called *Bunds-president*, and has several privileges which distinguish him from the chiefs of the two other leagues. He receives all the letters addressed to the Republic of the Grisons from foreign powers, and is also perpetual president of the Congress, because that assembly is always held at Coire.

Coire is situated at the foot of the Alps, in a rich plain between two or three miles wide; a considerable breadth of valley for this mountainous country. Opposite is the chain of mountains which separate the country of the Grisons from the canton of Glaris: of this chain the Calendar is esteemed the highest point; but it is far inferior in elevation to several of the Swiss and Savoy Alps I visited in my last tour, and wants one certain criterion of great height, perpetual snow.

The town lies partly in the plain, and partly upon the steep side of a rock, and is surrounded with ancient brick walls, with square and round towers, in the style of fortification prior to the invention of powder. The streets are narrow and dirty. Several towns of Upper Engadina, although not so large, make a neater and more elegant appearance. It contains about three thousand souls.

Many fables are related concerning the foundation of Coire: the most probable account seems to be, that it owes its origin to the emperor Constantius, who, in the 355th year of the Christian era, penetrated into Rhetia, and fixed his station for some time near the spot where Coire now stands. A town, as it often happened on such

occasions, was perhaps constructed near the camp; and from the imperial residence it is supposed to have derived the name *Curia*, its ancient appellation, since corrupted into *Coira* and *Coire*. The remains of two or three towers, which are evidently of Roman construction, attest its antiquity, and serve to establish the truth of these conjectures concerning its origin.

The town of Coire was formerly a city of the German empire, under the dominion of its own counts, and came in the ninth century under the jurisdiction of the bishop. Like many other cities of Germany, it obtained considerable privileges from the different emperors; and the inhabitants, having gradually circumscribed the authority of the bishop, at length established an independent republic.

The government of Coire is of a mixed form, partly aristocratical, partly democratical. The supreme legislative authority resides in the citizens, whose number amounts to two hundred and ninety-four, divided into five tribes. Each citizen has a voice at the age of twenty. The suffrages are never collected in a meeting of the whole body of the people assembled together in one spot; but the object of deliberation is separately laid before each tribe, and is decided by the majority of the five tribes.

The executive power is intrusted to the council of seventy, composed of fourteen members annually elected from each tribe. This sovereign council is divided into several lesser departments, of which the principal is the senate, or council of fifteen, who have the chief direction of affairs, either solely or conjointly with other members of

the sovereign council. The chiefs of Coire are two burgomasters taken from the members of the senate, who, although liable to be removed, invariably, continue in office for life. These two magistrates enjoy the supreme dignity by rotation, each for the space of a year; during which term the acting chief, under the title of reigning burgomaster, presides in the usual councils. The criminal tribunal is composed of the senate and fifteen other members of the sovereign council. The prisoners are examined and the process made out by the secret council, formed of the seven oldest members of the senate. The majority of these seven must concur, to order the infliction of torture. After examination and conviction, the acts of the process are laid before the criminal tribunal, which ultimately passes sentence; and all offences, excepting great crimes, are commonly punished by fines.

My curiosity led me this morning to the apartment in which the general diet of the Grisons is held every three years; although it contained no object worthy of description, yet it did not fail to strike my attention, as being the place where the parliament of a free nation is assembled.

Coire sends two deputies to this diet, who are generally the two burgomasters; but if one of these should be chief of the league, the other deputy is chosen by rotation in the five tribes, with this condition, that he must be a member of the council of seventy.

From the apartment in which the diet is held I went to the town-hall, in order to see the form of administering the oath to the new *Bundspresident*. In general the ceremony takes place

just before the meeting of the diet, in the presence of the deputies of the League of God's House; but as the person to whom the office now devolves was not present at the diet; it was necessarily postponed. All the parties being assembled, Mr. Tscharner, the last president, with the public notary, stood at the upper end of the room; the gentleman appointed to succeed him stood at the lower end, with the *Bunds-schreiber*, or secretary, dressed in a cloak half black and half white, the livery of the league. Mr. Tscharner addressed to his successor a speech of about ten minutes, in German, acquainting him, that he was appointed by the deputies of the league Bunds-president for the ensuing year, giving him joy of his promotion, and congratulating the League upon the nomination of a person so well calculated by his integrity and abilities to fulfil the duties of the office. At the conclusion of this speech, the public notary read the oaths for the president, for himself, and the secretary. Mr. Tscharner then told them to hold up three fingers of their right-hand, and to repeat after him their several oaths; which ceremony being concluded, the new president made a short speech, that he was highly flattered with the honor conferred upon him, and that he would strive, as far as his abilities would permit him, to promote the welfare of the League of which he had been elected president. Then the former president bowing to the new chief, the latter walked first out of the room; and thus ended the ceremony.

It is remarkable, that although in the nomination of the magistrates, president, and deputies, the aristocratical party has the entire direction,

yet that the appointment to the vacant governments of the subject provinces should be left wholly to chance. When the turn belongs to Coire, the five tribes meet separately, and a candidate is appointed by lot from each tribe. These five persons then draw lots for the office, and the successful candidate may sell the turn; with this restriction, that the preference of purchasing it shall be given first to a member of the same tribe, secondly to any citizen of Coire, thirdly to an inhabitant of the League of God's House. It frequently happens, that the five persons, who are to draw lots for the government, agree to divide the profits of the sale.

Upon the highest part of the town stands the bishop's palace, the cathedral, and the houses belonging to the chapter.

The bishopric of Coire is very ancient, and was probably erected soon after the first establishment of Christianity in these parts under Constantine, or his son. This diocese once extended over the whole Roman province of Rhetia, which comprehended the present country of the Grisons, Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, the eastern district of Switzerland as far as the lake of Constance, and part of Tyrol. The bishop's territorial possessions were also considerable, and his revenues by no means inadequate to his power and dignity. It would be uninteresting to trace the diminution of his authority, and the gradual annihilation of his jurisdiction over the town of Coire, and the common-wealths of this League. I shall therefore observe, that his authority was principally lessened by the formation of the League of God's House, and the limitation of his

prerogatives in 1527: by the former he was compelled to ratify the independence of the communities; by the latter the principal prerogatives, from which he derived great influence in the political affairs of the Grisons, were at once annihilated; and he was reduced to the condition of a private person, in that country wherein he had formerly been considered as a sovereign prince. These privileges consisted in having admission, and a voice in the general diet of the Grisons; in appointing several deputies for the same assembly; in nominating the chief magistrates of several communities; and in receiving appeals in civil causes from the decision of the provincial courts of justice. All these prerogatives were abrogated by a general diet of the Grisons in 1527; and the few remaining rights have been either purchased or taken away. The introduction of the protestant religion gave the final blow to his power; for his revenue suffered great diminution by the loss of the tithes, which were seized by the reformed communities.

The bishop is prince of the Roman empire; a dignity annexed to the see in 1170, by the emperor Frederic the First, and is styled Lord of Furstenberg and Furstenau. His annual revenues, which amount to about *L.* 2,000, arise chiefly from estates near Coire, and in the Tyrol. He receives also the annual sum of about *L.* 70 from the customs of Chiavenna, in return for having ceded his right over the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the Republic of the three leagues^s. The only prerogatives remaining are the

^s See page 145.

right of coining money, and an absolute jurisdiction both in civil and criminal affairs within the small district in which his palace and the chapter are situated. Beyond this district he enjoys not the least power: so far from interfering in the affairs of the town, he could not even enter it if the inhabitants chose to exclude him; a right which they asserted in 1764, upon the following occasion. A Catholic, in order to avoid being arrested for a crime of which he had been guilty, took refuge from the hands of justice in the cathedral. The inhabitants, inflamed by the bishop's refusal to deliver him up, raised a gate close to the only opening which leads into the episcopal district; by which means the avenue to the palace was closed: this manœuvre conquered the bishop's obstinacy, and the criminal was delivered up. The gate still exists, and is ready to be used upon another occasion.

The bishop is chosen by the chapter. Many disputes relating to his election have arisen between the canons and the League of God's House: the latter, in virtue of a treaty contracted in 1541 with the bishop, protests, that only a native of the League can be promoted to the see. This treaty was observed until 1692, when a foreigner was elected; from that period the canons have disregarded the right asserted by the League, and have without reserve given their votes to aliens: at every new election the League remonstrates, but without effect. The present bishop is Francis Dionysius, of the ancient family of Rost in the Tyrol.

This episcopal district is only a few hundred paces in circumference, and is surrounded by
high

high walls. I examined the bishop's palace: the greatest part is modern, excepting a square tower, which is supposed to have been constructed by the Romans. It is of strong but clumsy workmanship, and is in no degree entitled to notice, except as a monument of antiquity.

In the cathedral I observed no one object of curiosity, unless the bones of St. Lucius, richly ornamented after the fashion of Roman Catholic relics, should be thought worthy of attention.

The chapter consists of twenty-four canons, of whom six are resident. The inhabitants of this district are all Catholics.

Above the palace, and upon the highest extremity of the town, is the convent of St. Lucius. It takes its name from a small chapel dedicated to that saint, who, according to the legends of the Romish church, was a king of England in the latter end of the second century. Having embraced Christianity, and being inflamed with religious zeal, he quitted his throne, and wandering into these parts built an hermitage upon the spot where his chapel now stands, and by his preaching and example converted numbers to a belief of the gospel. He is styled the apostle of the Grisons, and is greatly revered as a saint by the Catholics, while the Protestants of the town pay him not the least veneration. Burnet, in his Travels, relates, that he endeavoured "*to show the good old bishop that the legend of Lucius was a fable in all the parts of it, but most remarkable in that which related to the Grisons; and that we had no kings in Britain at that time, but were a province to the Romans; that no ancient authors speak of it, Bede being the first that mentions*

it; and that the pretended letter to pope Eleutherius, together with his answer, has evident characters of forgery in it. All this, he adds, signified nothing to the bishop, who assured me that they had a tradition of that in their church, and it was inserted in their Breviary, which he firmly believed."

As I was well aware, that my endeavours to convince the monks of the falsity of the legend would have ended as unsuccessfully as the reasoning of Burnet, I did not imitate his example; but without entering into the merits or demerits of the story, contented myself with admiring the beautiful prospect, which was the motive that induced me to visit the convent. The environs of Coire are delightful. The plain is richly diversified with corn and pasture; the hills gradually sloping to the foot of the mountains are covered with vines, which yield wine of an agreeable flavor, but not strong. The points of view vary surprisngly, from agreeable to romantic, from romantic to wild. The Rhine, which flows rapidly through the plain; at about the distance of a mile, begins here to be navigable by rafts, and merchandise is transported toward Lindau and Zurich.

LETTER 83.

Castle of Haldenstein — Seminary of Literature.

I RODE this evening, in company with two gentlemen of Coire, from whom I have received

great marks of attention and politeness, to Haldenstein, which may be called the smallest sovereignty in Europe. We passed along the side of the hills, and at the bottom of the rugged rocks which lead to the League of the Ten Jurisdictions; and enjoyed the whole way a fine view of the rich plain, stretching from the town of Coire as far as Embs. The beautiful verdure of the meadows, the sloping hills clothed with vines, the craggy mountains, partly covered with vines, partly overspread with wood, and partly bare, formed altogether a striking prospect. We crossed the Rhine to Haldenstein, a small village consisting of about sixty houses, and proceeded to the house occupied by the present baron, Rhodolph de Salis, who received me with great politeness, and kindly indulged my curiosity, by showing me his little territory, and answering my inquiries with great readiness and exactness. The baron, a gentleman of considerable learning and indefatigable industry, has formed a large collection of manuscripts relative to the Grisons, from which he has drawn ample materials for a publication, in which he is at present engaged. His researches are chiefly biographical; and his work is intended to illustrate the memoirs of the principal persons, who have rendered themselves conspicuous among the Grisons by their actions and abilities ⁶.

⁶ This work is announced as not yet finished, in Haller's *Schweitzer-Bibliothek*, vol. II. p. 364, under the following titles: 1. *Rætia Illustrata*, contenant l'histoire ou les principaux événemens de la vie des Hommes célèbres qui ont paru au pays des Grisons. 2. *Rætia Literaria*, ou Catalogue de tous les auteurs Grisons, de leur vie, & de leurs ouvrages.

With respect to the barony of Haldenstein, he informed me, that it was formerly under the protection of the seven ancient cantons of Switzerland; that since the year 1568, it has been an independent sovereignty, under the protection of the three leagues; that in the middle of the sixteenth century it was possessed in right of marriage by John de Castron, French ambassador to the Republic of the Grisons, and at his death, in 1565, came into the family of Schauenstein: that the male line being extinct, it was divided between two females of the collateral branches, one of whom married a de Salis, and the other an Hartmannis. In the beginning of this century the descendants of the former purchased the other half, and again reunited it under one person.

The whole barony consists of a small semicircular plain, which lies between the Rhine and the bottom of the Calendar, about five miles in length, and scarcely one in breadth. It occupies also part of the mountain, which is so steep as not to be inhabited. It contains only two villages, that of Haldenstein and Sewils, and the whole number of subjects amount to no more than between three and four hundred. The people were serfs, or vassals, until the year 1701, when the grandfather of the present baron gave to them several immunities. At present the lord has territorial jurisdiction; the exclusive privilege of hunting and fishing; a claim of two days work annually from each of his subjects, and a load of dung from each peasant. He appoints the judge

The baron is since dead, and I have not heard that these works have been published.

in the criminal court, receives the fines for offences, from which he pays the expenses of the process, and has the power of pardoning. He nominates the president, and part of the jury in civil causes, and in all cases of appeal judges in the last resort.

The baron showed me several coins struck by his predecessors: the most ancient was a gold piece of 1611, the year in which the emperor Matthias conferred the right of coining money upon the baron of Haldenstein; a privilege which he still enjoys.

The ancient castle of Haldenstein, from which the barons took their title, is now in ruins; but its remains are still visible upon the sides of the mountain: above it is another ruined castle called Lichtenstein, which was formerly inhabited by an ancestor of prince Lichtenstein of Vienna, and from which he is said to derive his title. The prince is so convinced of his descent from the ancient possessors of this castle, and so proud of their antiquity, that he was at the expense of procuring a stone from these ruins, for the foundation stone of a superb palace which he has built at Vienna, that it might be said to contain some materials of the original castle in which his ancestors once resided.

The present house, occupied by the baron of Haldenstein, was built in 1545, by James de Castrio; it is pleasantly situated near the Rhine, and commands a fine view of the town of Coire, and the adjacent country.

A few years ago the castle of Haldenstein was converted into a seminary for the education of youth. An inquiry into the origin of this institution, and

the cause of its subsequent decline, has led me to gain some insight into the general state of literature in this country.

It had long been a serious cause of complaint, that in the whole country of the Grisons there was no public seminary for completing the education of youth; and that all who followed any of the learned professions were obliged to repair to foreign academies. M. de Salis of Marchlins, and some other persons of the first consequence among the Grisons, considering this defect a disgrace to their country, projected a plan for the institution of an academy; and having obtained the ratification of the general diet, which assembled at Davos in 1761, carried it into immediate execution at their own expense, with a zeal for literature which reflects the highest honor upon their exertions.

The plan was extensive and useful, and seemed well calculated to secure success: for a short time it wore a flourishing appearance; but this prosperous beginning was not succeeded by any beneficial consequences. Its decline was owing to the little countenance given to literature; was hastened by quarrels which arose between the professors; and in 1779, within the space of fifteen years from its first establishment, the institution was dissolved.

The general state of literature among the Grisons is at a very low ebb. One of the most learned men in this country, and who would be far from depreciating the knowledge of his countrymen without sufficient foundation, thus expresses himself upon this head⁷: — “As the administration

⁷ *In Rætia nostra rerum administratio omnium a plebe dependet, cujus numerus potior non nisi quæ ante nasum sunt,*

of affairs is entirely in the hands of the people, the greatest part considering nothing but their own profit, despise every species of polite learning, and are unwilling to allow any salaries, or bestow any honors upon the professors; so that all persons who cultivate the sciences are incited merely by the love of glory, and a disinterested zeal." If this is the case, it would be chimerical to expect the arts and sciences to flourish in an ungrateful soil, where they meet with no encouragement: but even amidst these obstacles to improvement, there have never been wanting, and there still are to be found, men of superior souls, who have dedicated their time to the cultivation of letters; and who merit the highest praise, for laboring in the vineyard without hopes of profit.

The Protestants who receive a liberal education repair for the most part to Zurich or Basle, and the Catholics to Milan, Pavia, or Vienna.

Each community has a small school, in which the children are taught to write, read, and cast accounts; but which is only open in winter, from the 9th of November to the 7th of March. Those parents who wish to give their children a better

aut lucrum adferunt, sapit, quicquid de reliquo agatur, litteras politiores, cum omni gloria & commodis quæ ex illis subsequuntur, quasi rejicienda contemnit; nullum earum professoribus premium, nullum meritum, laudem nullum tribuit; sic ut qui litteras ament, & excolant, ex generoso quopiam animi impetu id agant, seposito omni alio fine, & absque ullo ad eas calcari. Et his tamen non obstantibus, reperti & apud Nos qui generosi ediderunt pectoris documenta; reperti etiam, qui scientiarum culturam, ac amorem quibusvis aliis prætulerunt, licet illorum labores ac memoria fere cum ipsis intereat, nec sit qui eam ab interitu vindicet. Aporta, Hist. Reformat. Rhætic. Præfat.

education, and who can support the expence, must either send them to foreign parts, or have a private tutor at home.

There is a Latin seminary at Coire for the children of the burghers, and another, instituted in 1763, for the education of persons intended for the church; and although these establishments are poorly endowed, yet they have been productive of some literary advantages to the country. There is also a typographical society at Coire for Latin, German, and Romansh: books in the latter tongue are also printed in the Lower Engadina and at Disentis.

LETTER 84.

League of Ten Jurisdictions — Fatzerol — Baths of Alvenew — Davos — Valley of Pretigau — Malantz — Mayensfield — Baths of Pfeffers.

I QUITTED Coire yesterday morning, in order to make an excursion into the League of the Ten Jurisdictions; but before I proceed in my account of this expedition, I shall send you a short abstract of this league, from its first foundation to its perfect independency.

This league ought properly to be called, and indeed is not unfrequently denominated in this country, the League of the *Eleven* Jurisdictions, from the number of communities of which it is composed; but as upon its first union it was formed of ten jurisdictions, it still retains its original appellation, although one of the

jurisdictions has been since that period subdivided into two.

The territory of this league was formerly under the dominion of the barons of Vats, whose authority was limited, as the people possessed very considerable privileges. Upon the death of Donatus, the last baron, the count of Toggeburgh, who had married his eldest daughter, succeeded to his possessions; and Frederic, one of his descendants, dying in 1436 without issue, the several communities united, formed an offensive and defensive alliance, and erected themselves into a league. But although by this alliance they increased their immunities, yet they were by no means perfectly independent; for the male heirs of the count of Toggeburgh obtained the lordship over these jurisdictions, after having confirmed all their privileges, and added others. Afterwards Sigismond, archduke of Austria and count of Tyrol, purchased the baronial rights. Upon his death they devolved to his heir, Maximilian the First, and the successors of that emperor. These prerogatives consisted in the appointment, in several of the communities, of the criminal judge, in the power of pardoning, in receiving part of the fines, in nominating the principal magistrates from three candidates, and in other similar privileges, which gave to the House of Austria considerable influence in the interior administration of affairs. These rights exercised by means of a governor who resided at Castels, but who could not be appointed without the concurrence of the league, were gradually annihilated, either by purchase or concession; the several communities became entirely independent; and this independence

was solemnly ratified by the emperor Ferdinand the Third, soon after the peace of Westphalia.

After about half an hour's ascent from Coire, I entered the League of the Ten Jurisdictions near Malix; passed along the vale, and through the community of Churwalden, in which the hamlets lie prettily scattered about the vale, and upon the sides of the mountains. I made a small circuit in order to pass through the village of Fatzrol, which consists only of five or six houses, and stands at the bottom of some very high and rugged mountains; it is celebrated in the history of the Grisons as being the place where, in 1471, the first perpetual alliance was ratified by the deputies of the three leagues. I was accompanied to the spot by one of the principal inhabitants, who was not displeased with the enthusiasm I testified at beholding the birth-place of their liberties. The house is now in ruins, and the apartment which was remarkable for the meeting of the deputies no longer remains. Having, with the assistance of my companion, traced its site, I considered with respect the spot which was once sanctified by the ratification of the general union; lamented that so venerable a pile of building should be suffered to fall into decay; and felt disappointment, that there was no inscription by public authority, in order to consign to posterity the date of the transaction, and to consecrate the place which had been witness to an event the most memorable in the annals of this country.

Having satisfied my curiosity in viewing these respectable remains, I descended through Brientz to the baths of Alvenew. The source which gives celebrity to the last-mentioned place is sulphureous,

and resembles both in smell and taste the Harrowgate water. The situation of these baths is highly romantic, by the side of the torrent Albula, at the bottom of the majestic Alps.

Having passed through Alvenew and Anderwisen, I mounted a very steep rugged ascent through a thick forest, and then pursued a narrow path upon the side of a rock called Zug, over a steep precipice, with a torrent flowing beneath. This rock is mostly bare, excepting a few stubbed firs, the remains of a forest which was formerly destroyed by fire; hence it is called the *Burnt Wood*, and exhibits a most desolate appearance. At the bottom of this rock, close to the torrent, are mines of silver, which were formerly worked. I entered the jurisdiction of Davos at the village of Glarus, and took up my lodging in a neat cottage.

The district of Davos is a long plain, about a quarter of a mile broad, gradually rising into hills, which terminate in high mountains. It is not unlike the valley of Upper Engadina, but is more fertile. Near the church of St. John there is a small cluster of eight or ten houses contiguous to each other: in the other parts the cottages are thickly strewn over the plain, and upon the gentle acclivities, as in the canton of Appenzel, each with its little territory. The country produces oats, rye, large quantities of rich pasture, and yields two crops of hay in one season. It is now the second harvest, and the fields are covered with mowers. The bordering mountains are overspread to their summits with forests of fir and larch, intermixed with meadows: above them tower the rugged Alps. A clear murmuring

stream flows through the midst of the plain, with a gentle though lively course; its banks prettily ornamented with scattered cottages, which are remarkably neat and commodious. Some are built of trees piled one upon another; others have stone foundations, and the upper part of wood; others are constructed with stone plaistered and white-washed. I walked to the valley of Diesma, leading to Scampf in Upper Engadina, which is closed at some distance by a high mountain covered with snow, said to be one of the most elevated in the country of the Grisons. It is called the Swart-Horn, and is part of the Scalletta Alps, which communicates with the Julian Alps, the Set, and the chain that separates the Valteline from Upper Engadina and Pregalia. Close to my inn is the town-house, in which the deputies composing the general diet of the Grisons are assembled every three years. It is also the place of meeting for the deputies of this league, who assemble annually in the month of May, for the choice of the *Bunds Landamman*, or chief of the league, and for the transacting of any particular business. It is plain and simple, like the people themselves.

The form of government established in this district of Davos is similar to that of the small cantons of Switzerland, and is entirely democratical. The people must be assembled upon all extraordinary occasions, such as enacting new laws, deciding upon appeals from the general diet, and raising money. Every male at the age of fourteen has a vote. The whole collective body of the people, however, do not meet in order to chuse their magistrates, who are elected from

deputies sent by each district. The administration of affairs resides in the great council of eighty-two, and the council of fifteen, which is included in the former. The great council regulates all affairs relating to finance; the fifteen superintend the police, and are judges in the civil and criminal courts of justice without appeal⁸. In criminal cases torture cannot be inflicted without permission of the great council. The Landamman is elected every two years, and is president of both these councils.

This remote corner has produced several persons eminent in literature; and particularly the two historians of the Grisons, Guler and Sprecher.

John Guler was born 1562, and died in 1637, at a very advanced age. He was remarkable for his multifarious knowledge; and published, in 1616, in the German tongue, "an account of the three Grison Leagues, and other Rhetian people." In this work, much esteemed by the natives, the author gives a circumstantial detail of the origin of the ancient Rhetians, and of their emigration from Tuscany into this country under their leader Rhætus; traces their subsequent history under the Romans, and in the dark ages, to the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the union of the three leagues was established.

Guler has illustrated the history of ancient and modern Rhetia by wooden engravings of medals,

⁸ It is remarkable, that through the whole League of the Ten Jurisdictions there is no appeal from the decision of the civil courts of justice, excepting in the community of Alvenew. The inhabitants of that place being Catholic and Protestant, there lies an appeal to the civil tribunal either of Churwalden or of Davos.

towns, and battles; genealogical tables, coats of arms, and maps; which, though rude, are curious for their antiquity. The author had also meditated a second volume, on the union of the three leagues, on the topography and history of the whole country, and on the transactions of his own times.

For this part of the work Guler was eminently qualified; as well from his extensive erudition, and for having carefully digested Campel's account of the Grisons⁹, as from the various offices to which he was raised both in the civil and military line, and the repeated embassies and negotiations in which he was employed. It is, however, uncertain whether this part was ever finished; and if finished, it is probably lost: as Mr. Aporta has searched for it without success in the libraries and among the manuscripts of his countrymen¹.

The deficiency of this valuable performance, however, is fortunately supplied by Fortunatus Sprecher, the contemporary, friend, and relation, of Guler.

Sprecher was born in 1584; and in 1617 gave to the world *Pallas Rhætica armata et togata*; or the military and civil history of the Grisons from the earliest ages to the era in which the book was published. In this work, which is a model for method and perspicuity, the author gives the national history, in ten books. The first contains the emigration of the Tuscans, their settlement in

⁹ See Letter 73.

¹ See Aporta, Hist. Refor. Ecc. Rhæt. Præfat. — Haller, in his Schweit. Bib. N° 814. says, that it was already prepared for the press, but was unfortunately burnt.

this country, the description of the ancient Rhetians, and their transactions to the time of Augustus. The second comprises the period from the Augustan era to the establishment of the empire of the Franks. The third treats of the Grisons under the empires of the Franks and Germans, till 1476. The fourth details the wars of the Grisons; namely the Swabian war against Maximilian the First, and the campaigns against James of Medici, from 1525 to 1531. The fifth comprises the wars in which the Grisons were engaged under the standards of foreign powers. The sixth relates the union and political state of the three leagues, and their alliances with the Swiss and other powers. The seventh, eighth, and ninth, separately describe the Grey League; the bishopric of Coire, and the League of God's House; and the League of Ten Jurisdictions. The tenth concludes with an account of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio.

A second volume, which appeared in 1629, under the title of, *Historia Motuum et Bellorum postremis hisce annis in Rhetia excitatorum et gestorum*, relates the wars and troubles of the Grisons from 1617 to 1629; a period of turbulence and discord.

A third volume continued the history of the Grisons from 1627 to a short time before the author's death, which happened in 1647; but has never been given to the public.

Towards the extremity of the beautiful valley of Davos I came to a small lake, about four miles in circumference, which is remarkably deep and clear, and abounds with excellent trout. It lies at the foot of the mountains, and supplies a small

stream, which being joined by one from the valley of Flola, and by another from that of Diesma, forms the murmuring brook that waters the valley of Davos, and falls into the Albula above the baths of Alvenew: it is considered by some writers as forming a source of the Rhine.

From the banks of this lake I descended to another, about half a mile in circumference, that lies in a wild and romantic situation, and supplies a small torrent, which is the source of the Lanquart. A little further we passed through a small pleasant plain strewed with cottages, which compose the village of Lower Lera; at the extremity of which the descent was so steep and rugged, that I dismounted until I reached the vale of Pretigau. I passed through Closter, Kublis, Jenatsch, and Schiers, following all the way the torrent Lanquart. The country is delightful, and greatly diversified with all kinds of productions. It yields different species of grain, rich pastures, abundance of fruit-trees, with large quantities of flax and hemp: the latter is much cultivated, and seems to be carried to great perfection. The peasants manufacture coarse but very strong linen from this hemp.

The mountains on each side are in some parts covered with forests; and so great is the abundance of wood, that the fields are either studded or skirted with larch, pines, and beech. The hamlets are scattered through the plain, and along the declivities of the mountains, in a very pleasing manner. The houses are mostly of wood, in the Swiss mode of construction, and not less convenient. The road through this vale descends gently all the way. I have not for some time visited a more agreeable, fertile, and populous district.

A

A little beyond Grusch, which lies under some bare rocks in a fertile plain, the valley of Pretigau contracts; and I went through a narrow pass between impending rocks, just broad enough to admit the torrent and the road. The sudden change from the fertility of the country to the rugged barrenness of this spot, sufficiently striking of itself, was still further heightened by the gloom of the evening, which added to the horror of the scenery. The road was carried for some way in continued ascent and descent along the craggy precipices, sometimes above, and sometimes upon a level with the torrent. The path was so narrow and rugged, that I gave my horse to the guide, and continued my way on foot. I soon emerged from this obscure pass, and as far as I could judge by the dim light of the stars, came into a fine and rich country, and went through a series of vineyards to Malantz, in the district of Mayenfield.

The High Jurisdiction of Mayenfield is the most remarkable in the whole country of the Grisons, because the inhabitants are respectively sovereign and subjects. They are sovereign, because they form part of the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, send deputies to the general diet of the Grisons, and nominate to the governments of the subject provinces. They are subject, because, like the subject provinces, they are governed by a bailiff sent from the Grisons, who is changed every two years, and in whom resides the supreme authority. This strange intermixture of privileges and subjection is derived from the following causes.

The lordship of Mayenfield was, like the whole territory of this league, subject to the counts of Toggeburgh, and, in 1436, joined the other communities to form a league. In 1509, the prerogatives enjoyed by the count of Toggeburgh were sold, by his heirs, for 20,000 florins, to the three leagues, which confirmed the privileges of the inhabitants. In 1537, Malantz and Jennins, the remaining part of this High Jurisdiction, were also purchased by the three leagues for 10,000 florins. Thus, while the inhabitants of all the other jurisdictions, who came under the dominion of the House of Austria, have purchased their absolute independence, the people of Mayenfield and Malantz, although making part of the sovereign power, have continued in the same state as at the first formation of the leagues. The bailif or governor is appointed by the communities of the three leagues in rotation; and the inhabitants of this very High Jurisdiction nominate the bailif, when it is their turn to present to the office.

The prerogatives of the bailif, who resides at Mayenfield, are as follow: he appoints the *Stadvogt*, or chief magistrate of that town, with this condition, that he must be a member of the senate; upon a vacancy in the senate or little council, he nominates the new senator; he arrests criminals, examines them, and makes a composition if he chuses; he cannot order torture or pass sentence without the concurrence of the members of the criminal tribunal ², and when they pass sentence can pardon; he can give a liberation, in the

² The members of this tribunal consist of six judges from the district of Mayenfield, and six from that of Malantz, three from Jennins, and two from Fläsch.

same manner as the governor of the Valteline ³; he receives part of the fines for criminal offences, and a certain portion of the great tithes; at Malantz he appoints the chief magistrate from three candidates presented by the people, who chuse all the other magistrates. Both Mayenfield and Malantz have their civil courts, from that of the former there lies an appeal to the bailif.

From Malantz, a small but handsome town lying upon the side of a hill, I descended into a rich plain of pasture, about three miles in breadth. I crossed the Rhine, and soon afterwards ascended into the county of Sargans, through hanging groves of larch, fir, birch, beech, and oak. From the eminence I looked down upon a fine view, on the other side of the Rhine, of hills gently rising from the bed of the river into mountains. Upon this chain are situated Mayenfield, Malantz, Jennins, and Flæsch, surrounded by corn-fields, meadows, and vineyards: it seemed to me the richest part of this country. I observed beyond the confines of the Grisons, at a little distance, the road ⁴ which I passed in 1776, as I travelled from Appenzel to Wallenstadt.

Having reached Pfeffers, I left my horse at the village, where there is an abbey of Benedictine monks, the abbot of which is a prince of the empire, and took a guide to the baths of the same name, which are distant about three miles. I passed through a thick forest of beech, down a steep and rugged path, to the house which the abbot has built for the reception of the company.

³ See Letter 76.

⁴ Letter 5.

Formerly the accommodations were extremely indifferent; and the descent into the baths was attended with great inconvenience, if not with danger. Affairs are now greatly changed: the waters are conveyed by pipes into commodious baths; and the house, which is not only commodious, but superb, hangs in a most romantic situation on the side of the mountain, amidst the gloom of the forest, close to the lively Tamina.

Being desirous of visiting the warm source, I crossed the Tamina, over a wooden bridge, and entered into a chasm, or narrow opening in a rock of lime stone, through which that torrent has forced its way. The chasm is from ten to twenty feet broad, and from two to three hundred feet high. In some places it is open at top and overspread with shrubs; in some its sides converge and almost touch; in others it is quite closed with enormous masses of fallen rock, and scarcely admits a feeble ray of light. The passage along this chasm is quite dreadful; and my head almost turns giddy at the bare recital. I went along a kind of scaffolding erected for the purpose of supporting a wooden aqueduct, through which the waters are conveyed from their source to the baths: the planks upon which I walked, either resting upon long beams, or suspended by iron cramps driven into the sides of the rock, hang over the torrent. I was frequently obliged to stoop for a considerable way, in order to avoid the impending rock: in some places I traversed a single plank, which forms a kind of bridge suspended over the gulf, tottering under my weight, and so narrow that I walked sideways. In this manner I continued for near a quarter of an hour

before I reached the warm springs, which gush abundantly from the crevices of the rock. Here the baths were formerly constructed: the houses for the reception of the sick were built upon a platform under the over-hanging crags; a situation so dreary, that I no longer find the description given by the writers of the last century in the least degree exaggerated. Willing to convey a general idea of their gloominess, they represent these dwellings as never receiving the rays of the sun, and so dark that the inhabitants were accustomed to use candles at midday. The approach to the baths was very inconvenient: the company descended ranges of perpendicular ladders, or were let down by ropes. As the rocks have fallen, and overwhelmed these subterraneous dwellings, I could observe no traces of them, except some holes in the rock for the beams which supported the houses.

These baths have been so renowned for their efficacy in curing the gout, rheumatism, and cutaneous disorders, that, according to the general opinion, they contain a small portion of gold; as if that metal would render them more salutary for the cure of diseases. The waters are transparent, perfectly free from smell or taste, and about the warmth of milk immediately drawn from the cow. Persons who have analyzed them say, that they deposit no sediment, are as light and pure as rain-water, are impregnated with a small quantity of volatile alkali and iron, but contain no sulphur.

I returned from this source through the same chasm, and along the same tottering scaffolding, and was not displeased when I issued again into

day. I then mounted to the village of Pfefers, descended into the plain of the Rhine, and hastened to Coire.

LETTER 85.

Union of the Three Leagues — Diet — Constituent Parts — Mode of chusing the Deputies — Analogy between the Grison Diet and the British Parliament, according to the Plan of extending to the People at large the Right of electing Representatives — Remarks on the Inexpediency of that Plan.

THE country of the Grisons is divided into three leagues, which unite and form one republic; the Grey League, the Cadée, or the House of God, and the Ten Jurisdctions. The respective communities of these three leagues have their peculiar constitution, enjoy their municipal laws and customs, and are independent commonwealths in all concerns, which do not interfere with the general policy of the whole republic, or the articles of the particular league of which they form a part.

It is remarkable, that the precise period at which the three leagues formally united to compose one general republic cannot be ascertained from any positive record in the annals of this country. Campel, the best historian of the

Grifons, places this event about 1436⁵. For though the first articles of union which are transmitted to posterity were drawn up in 1524; it is plain that there were others of anterior date, because it is therein expressly mentioned, that the said articles were compiled from a former treaty, with great additions. This union has since been frequently renewed at different periods; but the same articles remain without any alteration.

The connexion between the three leagues is maintained by means of an annual diet, of the congress, and of the three chiefs.

The diet is composed of sixty-three deputies, and the three chiefs. Of these deputies the Grey League send twenty-seven, the House of God twenty-two, and the Ten Jurisdictions fourteen. They are chosen in the several communities by every male of a stated age⁶.

The diet assembles annually about the beginning of September at Ilants, Coire, and Davos, by rotation, and continues sitting about three weeks or a month. The chief of that league, in whose district the diet is held, is president for that turn, and has the casting voice in case of equal suffrages. The supreme authority is not absolutely and finally vested in the diet, but in the communities at large; for in all affairs of importance, such as declaring war, making peace, enacting laws, contracting alliances, and imposing

⁵ Sprecher, however, in his *Pallas Rhætica*, fixes the union of the three leagues in 1471, p. 228. Elz. Edit. Most of the Grison historians follow Sprecher.

⁶ The age which entitles them to vote is not exactly the same in all communities; in some it commences as early as fourteen.

taxes, the deputies either bring positive instructions from their constituents, or refer those points, concerning which they have no instructions, to the decision of the several communities; so that in effect the supreme power constitutionally resides in the body of the people, and not in their representatives at the diet. All questions in the diet are carried or rejected by a majority of voices: the mode of voting is as follows. In all cases where the communities send instructions, the deputies deliver them to the secretary, who reads them aloud: if these instructions are obscurely worded, as sometimes happens, either through accident or design, the diet determines by a majority, in what sense they shall be taken. In resolutions, which, for want of instructions, are subject, after the decision of the diet, to the revival of the communities, each member is at liberty to vote as he chuses. The three chiefs have no suffrage, when the communities send their instructions, because they are not representatives: but in all cases which are either not referable to the communities, or which are afterwards to be submitted to the communities, they vote in the same manner as the deputies.

It is worthy of remark, that although each deputy has the power of bringing in any bill, or proposing any question; yet he can only communicate it to the assembly through the medium of the president: the latter may lay it before the assembly, without any previous notice, at any time before its dissolution; a privilege, which necessarily invests him with great influence in promoting or opposing the success of a motion.

The deputies receive, for their attendance, a small salary from the public treasury, which never exceeds five shillings a day.

Extraordinary diets are convoked at the request of any foreign court, who will discharge the expense of its sittings, and upon other important emergencies. This extraordinary assembly is sometimes composed of all the deputies, at other times of only half the number: in the latter instance it is called a half diet. The deputies are chosen in the same manner as at the election of a general diet, and its powers are the same.

The aristocratical party is still further strengthened by the power delegated to the congress; an assembly formed by the three chiefs, and three deputies from each league. In the Grey League these deputies are nominated by the Landrichter; in each of the other leagues they are chosen by rotation from the several communities.

This congress generally meets in February or March, and always at Coire, for which reason the chief of the League of God's House is president: its office is to receive the votes of the several communities, relative to the questions referred to their deliberation at the last diet, and to communicate to each of them the result of the general decision. Whenever the answer of a community is not clearly worded, the congress determines the meaning of that vote by the majority; and this circumstance gives an opening to much intrigue. For, if the leading persons in any community do not chuse to form a positive decision, they have it obscurely worded, provided they are certain, that a majority of the congress will affix that interpretation which they desire. This assembly

sends out decrees to the subject countries: if such decrees are agreeable to the governors, they put them into execution; but if otherwise, and they can secure a majority at the approaching diet, they reject them, alledging that congress has exceeded its power. The three chiefs, as well as each of the other members of the congress, receive as a defrayment of their expenses 54 florins, or about *L.* 4.

The three chiefs assemble regularly three times in the year at Coire, and upon any emergency may be also summoned by the chief of the League of God's House. The principal meeting is in the month of May, when they write circular letters to the several communities, concerning the questions which are to be laid before the general diet. All the circular letters are written in German, and are translated into Italian or Romanish by the notaries of the district where those languages are spoken. All public acts and documents are compiled in German: at the diet all bills are proposed in that language; but the deputies, who do not understand German, may speak Italian.

Those theorists, who are so anxious to reform the English House of Commons by transferring to *the people at large* the election of their representatives in parliament, might, on examining with attention the features of the Grison diet, fondly imagine, that an *annual* assembly, in the choice of whose members *every male* of the state should have a vote, and which, in all material occurrences should be liable to *be directed by its constituents*, must *necessarily* be the purest sanctuary of general freedom. In this instance, however, their conjectures are by no means consonant

to fact and experience; as corruption [and influence are not in any national parliament more conspicuous than in the diet of the Grisons.

For although, in general, those deputies, *annually chosen by every male of a stated age, are subject to be controuled in their votes by written orders from their constituents*, yet they frequently contrive to elude this restriction. Sometimes the instructions are drawn up, with the consent of the community, under the sole direction of the deputy himself; at other times an exemption from positive instructions, and the power of voting at his own pleasure, is purchased by the deputy from his constituents. Sometimes again the deputy, although he may not have interest sufficient to gain either of these points, has still sufficient address to get his instructions so obscurely worded as to admit a doubtful interpretation.

By various intrigues of this kind the greatest part of the deputies ultimately acquire the power of voting as they please; and as they chiefly obtain this power by corrupting their constituents, most of them in return sell their vote to the leading members of the diet. For most questions are carried, and most causes decided by bribery. Nor can it well be otherwise, when the electors are persons in needy circumstances; and the members, who have purchased their seats, are not themselves exalted by their possessions above temptation.

Thus then the leading members secure an unbounded sway in the affairs of the diet. But still it should seem, that whatever influence they may obtain by corrupting the deputies; yet as that assembly itself does not in many cases decide

finally, they could not acquire the same authority in those concerns, which must be referred to the determination of the communities at large. Here at least we might expect the unbiassed sense of the majority of the people. But it may be universally remarked, that the delegation of deliberative authority to the people at large unavoidably tends to introduce an actual, though not an acknowledged aristocracy. For a *numerous* populace summoned to determine upon political, legislative, and judicial questions, *far above their comprehensions*, must necessarily resign themselves to the direction of more informed men, especially when aided by the recommendation of superior wealth. As the deputies are generally the chiefs of those communities which they represent, they must of course have the principal influence, and easily find means to incline the opinion of the people to the side which they have espoused. In fact, without this aristocratical influence, the excess of freedom would often degenerate into anarchy, and public deliberations would be attended with endless disputes and factions.

if therefore corruption and aristocratical influence alone diminish factions and prevent anarchy in so poor a country as that of the Grisons, and in a republic scarcely known among the nations of Europe; to what a dreadful excess must the same evils prevail, if the *same* mode of electing, and giving instructions to, members of parliament, subsisted in a kingdom like England; where riches and luxury are continually advancing with such rapid strides; where the most important political and commercial debates are agitated without restraint; and where the decisions of public

affairs frequently affect the peace and interests of all Europe.

Theoretical reasoners may, indeed, attempt to prove, that the best method of preventing corruption is to augment the number of electors, from the chimerical idea, that *large numbers* cannot be bribed. But if we appeal from uncertain theory to more certain experience, we shall find, that this argument is contradicted by the history of all ages. Among the Grecian republics, those common-wealths in which the magistrates were chosen by the *people at large*, were the most venal. Among the Romans, the most effectual means which Julius Cæsar, the most able politician of his age, employed to subjugate his country, was to extend the privileges and votes of Roman citizens to *all* the inhabitants of Italy. The members of the Polish diet ⁷, which is no less venal than the diet of the Grisons, are chosen by needy and *numerous* electors, of whom far the greatest part possess no property; and whose *numbers*, instead of preventing, necessarily tend to increase influence and corruption.

⁷ See Travels into Poland, Russia, &c. Vol. I. B. 1. c. vi. & viii.

L E T T E R 86.

*Valley of Sopra Selva — Ilants — Truns —
Disentis — Tavetch.*

IMPATIENT to return to England, after so long an absence from my friends, I yesterday morning quitted Coire, and passed by Embs, and over the bridge of Reichenau, which I again stopped to admire, as it boldly projected over the Rhine. I then rode along the side of the mountains which separate the Grisons from the canton of Glaris, went through Tamins, and left Flims on my right, situated about a quarter of a mile from the road, in a pleasant plain. The houses of those towns are not scattered like those of Davos, but stand in separate clusters, like the burghs of Engadina. Having traversed thick forests of pines, and a very wild country, richly diversified with grain and pasture, I descended to the deep bed of the Rhine, and crossed it to Ilants.

Ilants, the capital of the Grey League, is a small town, containing about sixty houses, and partly surrounded by walls; a circumstance which serves to distinguish it, as it is the only walled town, excepting Coire, among the Grisons. It is also remarkable for being the place, where the general diet of the three leagues assembles every third year. The adjacent country is fertile in every species of grain and pasture. The points of view are uncommonly fine, exhibiting a small plain skirted by cultivated mountains, and backed by a ridge of barren rocks which bound the valley of Lungnets. The Romanſh, which is

spoken in these parts, differs considerably, both as to pronunciation and orthography, from that of Engadina. By the assistance of some persons to whom I had letters of recommendation, I procured several books written in the dialect of this league; these, in addition to others which I obtained in Engadina, have so considerably swelled my travelling library, that if I continue to increase the collection, I must hire an additional horse for the purpose of carrying my baggage of information.

This tract of country, stretching from Reichenau to the mountain of St. Gothard, is called the valley of Sopra Selva, and is the most populous part of the Grey League.

On quitting Ilants I pursued my route at the foot of the mountains, through a plain covered with pasture and forest by the side of the Rhine, which is rapid and shallow. Afterwards I passed through a rocky country, continually ascending and descending through large tracts of forest. I crossed the Rhine several times during the last four or five miles: that river formed repeated cataracts, as I judged from the roaring sound, for the evening was so dark, that I could not distinguish any objects.

I arrived very late at Truns, remarkable in the history of this country as the place where the independence of the league was first ratified, and an alliance concluded between the chiefs and the communities. I observed an aged oak, which, according to tradition, is the same tree under which the three chiefs confirmed the liberties of the league; and near it a chapel, whose walls are painted with a representation of the ceremony.

My curiosity also led me to the town-house, in which the diet of the Grey League is annually assembled. The room is well adapted for the purpose, and is handsomely painted with the arms of the several Landrichters, beginning from those of John of Lambris, the first person appointed to that office when the Grey League was formed. From this place of its meeting the assembly is always called the Diet of Truns. It consists of the same twenty-seven deputies who are appointed for the general diet of the three leagues, the two Landrichters, the abbot of Disentis, the representative of the House of Austria, as baron of Retzuns, and the Cau de Sax. All affairs relating to legislation, politics, and expenditure which concern the general interest of the league, are agitated in this assembly; and the questions are decided by the majority of voices.

At the same place is also assembled a court of appeal composed of sixteen ⁸ deputies, and the Landrichter, who has the casting voice. It hears and decides in the last resort all civil causes, above a certain sum, which are brought by appeal

⁸ These deputies are taken from the eight High Jurisdictions of the Grey League, in the following proportions:

From Disentis	—	—	4
Grub	—	—	2
Lugnets	—	—	2
Waltenberg	—	—	3
Rheinwald and Schams	—	—	2
Retzuns	—	—	1
Tufis	—	—	1
Mafox	—	—	1
			16

from

from the decision of the civil courts in the several communities of the Grey League.

Disentis, from whence I am now writing, takes its appellation from an abbey of that name, whose abbot was formerly sovereign over this part of the Grey League, and who, although his prerogatives have been gradually diminished, yet, as one of the chiefs of the league, still possesses no inconsiderable influence in the general administration of affairs. At the diet of Truns he not only votes, but has such weight, that few acts can pass in opposition to his will. In the court of appeal, although he is not present, he may be said to possess four votes, as the four deputies from the High Jurisdiction of Disentis are generally nominated through his interest. Nor is his ascendancy confined to the Grey League; by the nomination of the Landrichter every third year, he secures four⁹ votes in the congress for that sitting, and has also much power in the general diet of the Grisons by his influence over the deputies of the Grey League. His present revenue is very small, scarcely amounting to *L. 100 per ann.*; in addition he receives a pension from the House of Austria, interested to secure his concurrence. He is chosen by the Benedictine monks, who compose the chapter; and is a prince of the German empire.

⁹ He proposes for Landrichter three candidates, from whom one is nominated by the deputies, but the latter always appoint the person he recommends; and as the Landrichter appoints the three deputies to the congress, and is himself a member of the same assembly, the abbot may justly be said in that year to influence four votes in the congress.

and pines, and their number gradually diminishes towards the extremity of the vale. From Tavetch I ascended a very narrow path, and passed through Selva and Cimut, the last village in the country of the Grisons, where I took my farewell of the Romanish. The country became more and more wild as I ascended; and the Upper Rhine gradually diminished as I approached its source. A little beyond Cimut I came into a small plain of pasture, watered by two streams which unite and form the Upper Rhine. I had once intended to have visited the source of the principal stream, that precipitates from mount Badus; but finding, upon inquiry from the inhabitants of Selva, that it would employ at least five hours in going and returning; as the day was far advanced, and as my late illness has disqualified me for such fatiguing journeys, I thought it most prudent to pursue my route to Urseren. At Cimut, a peasant, who had frequently visited the spot, informed me, that the chief source of the Rhine descends from a glacier upon the summit of the Badus; and forms a piece of water about half a mile in circumference, called the lake of St. Thomas. From this lake issues a torrent, which precipitates itself from the mountain, and being joined by many springs and currents forms the largest of the two streams; which unite in the abovementioned plain of pasture. On quitting this plain I ascended by the side of the smaller stream, until I traced it falling from a glacier close to the confines of the canton of Uri. The ascent, though abrupt and craggy, was not so difficult as the passage of the Braglio or the Muret. These Alps produce no trees, but are covered to a great height with herbage.

After two hours continued ascent from the valley of Tavetch, I reached the highest point of the chain, which separates the country of the Grisons from the canton of Uri: a few paces further I passed a post without any inscription, which marks the boundary between the two respective territories. Soon afterwards I arrived at a lake of an oblong shape, about a mile and a half in circumference. It is formed principally by a torrent that falls from the northern side of the same chain, which gives rise to the Rhine: the lake supplies a stream that may be called one of the sources of the Reufs. I followed it as it runs through a narrow plain until I came to a steep descent, where the beautiful valley of Urseren suddenly burst upon my view.

L E T T E R 87.

General Idea of the Courts of Justice — Religion — Revenues — Population.

DURING the course of my correspondence I have occasionally mentioned the judicial proceedings in some of the communities. I shall here remark in general, that throughout the three leagues the Roman law prevails, modified by the municipal customs. The courts of justice in each community are composed of the chief magistrate, who presides, and a certain number of jurymen chosen by the people: they have no regular salaries, but receive for their attendance a small sum, arising in some communities from the expenses of the process, which are defrayed by the criminals, in

that the governors of the subject provinces should impartially administer justice, where their power is enlarged, and where they enjoy greater means of enriching themselves; when they have such continual examples of injustice and venality in their own country?

Before I close the account of the courts of judicature, it may be necessary to mention the *Straffgericht*³, or public chamber of justice, which was established upon particular occasions, and in the most alarming crisis of affairs, by the consent of the general diet; and which, during its sittings, had jurisdiction over the three leagues. It was chiefly held in cases of high treason, and is thus justly described by Burnet, “There is a
“part of this constitution that is very terrible,
“and which makes the greatest men in it trem-
“ble; the peasants come sometimes in great bo-
“dies, and demand a chamber of justice from
“the general diet, and they are bound to grant
“it always when it is thus demanded, which
“comes about generally once in twenty years;
“commonly this tumult of the peasants is set on
“by some of the mal-contented gentry, and ge-
“nerally there are a great many sacrifices made.
“This court is composed of ten judges out of

³ Paschal, the French ambassador from Henry the Fourth to the Grisons, gives, in his *Rhætica Legatione*, the following definition of a *Straffgericht*: *Straffgerichtum, est is hominum, paucis exceptis, imperitorum, ac truculentorum confessus, qui rebus turbidis a mota, & lasciviente, multitudine educitur in hoc, ut sæviat in personas, & fortunas eorum, quos vel sua pravitas, si facinorosi homines sint, aut si boni, sua infelicitas, his duris capitibus mactandos objicit: igitur ea omnia ibi aspere & violenter ex rumore & libidine plebis & partis iratæ agit, hanc sæviendi occasionem jamdiu aucupantis.*

“ every league, and twenty advocates, who manage such accusations as are presented to them; this court is paramount to law, and acts like a court of inquisition, they give the question, and do every thing that they think necessary to discover the truth of such accusations as are presented to them; and the decisions of this court can never be brought under a second review; though there is an exception to this, for about a hundred years ago one court of justice reversed all that another had done; but that is a single instance.”

These meetings, very usual in the last century, were always attended with such dreadful effects as nearly to endanger the ruin of the republic. The present generation, grown wiser by experience, and either aware of the dreadful effects of such licentious proceedings, or less agitated with intestine dissensions, have never had recourse to these sanguinary measures: accordingly these courts are now so totally fallen into disuse, that they may be considered as obsolete, although they have never been abolished by public authority.

The religion of the Grisons is divided into Catholic and Reformed, the only two persuasions which are tolerated in this country. By the reformed is meant what we call Calvinism, although it is not the same as was established at Geneva. For, as the reformation was introduced into this country by the disciples of Zuingli, the religion of the Protestant Grisons bears a greater resemblance to that settled at Zurich, than to the church of Geneva; although the difference between these two sects is so trifling, that they may be considered as holding the same tenets. Among the

Grisons the Protestants are more numerous than the Catholics, the former being estimated at about two-thirds of the inhabitants; and Stanyan justly asserts ⁴, that “as all their elections are decided by the plurality of voices, the republic of the Grisons may be deemed a Protestant state.”

The reformation was introduced very early into this country: the new doctrines were first preached about the year 1524, and received at Fläsch, a small village in the Ten Jurisdictions, upon the confines of Sargans; from thence they were extended to Mayenfeld and Malantz, and soon afterwards through the whole valley of Pretigau. The reformed opinions spread with such celerity, that before the end of the sixteenth century they were embraced by the whole league of the Ten Jurisdictions, (excepting part of the community of Alvenew,) the greatest part of the House of God, and a few communities in the Grey League.

The difference of religion nearly excited a civil war between the two sects, as well at the first introduction of the reformation, as at the beginning of the troubles in the Valteline. In the latter instance the two parties rose in arms, but the Catholics being overpowered by the Protestants, matters were amicably adjusted. Since that period, all religious concerns have been regulated with perfect cordiality. According to the general consent of the three leagues, each community, being absolute within its little territory, has the power of appointing its own particular worship, and the inhabitants are free to follow either the Catholic or Reformed persuasion. In the administration of civil affairs religion has no

⁴ State of Switzerland, p. 228.

interference: the deputies of the general diet may be members of either communion, as chosen by the communities which they represent. By this moderate and tolerating principle all religious dissensions have been suppressed as much as possible; and the most perfect amity subsists between the two sects.

In spiritual concerns the Catholics for the most part are under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Coire. For the affairs of the Reformed churches, each league is divided into a certain number of districts, the ministers whereof assemble twice every year: these assemblies are called *colloquia*. Each *colloquium* has its president, and each league a superintendent, called a dean. The supreme authority in spiritual concerns is vested in the synod, which is composed of the three deans, and the clergy of each league: the synod assembles every year alternately in each of the three leagues. Candidates for holy orders are examined before the synod. The necessary qualification for admission into the church ought to be the knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; but this rule is not strictly adhered to; many being ordained without the least acquaintance with either of those languages. Formerly Latin was solely used, as well in the debates of the synod as for the purpose of examining the candidates; but at present that tongue grows more and more into disuse, and German is employed in its stead.

The number of reformed parishes in the whole three Leagues amount to 135, in the following proportion. In the Grey League 46, in that of God's House 53, and in the League of Ten Jurisdictions 36.

The ministers of these churches enjoy but very small salaries. The richest benefices do not perhaps yield more than *L. 20*, or at most *L. 25 per ann.* and the poorest sometimes scarcely *L. 6*.

This scanty income is attended with many inconveniences. It obliges the clergy, who have families, to follow some branch of traffic, to the neglect of their ecclesiastical studies, and to the degradation of the professional character. Another inconvenience is superadded to the narrowness of their income. In most communities the ministers, though confirmed by the synod, are chosen by the people of the parish, and are solely dependent on their bounty.

For these reasons the candidates for holy orders are generally extremely ignorant. They cannot support that expense which is requisite to pursue their studies; they are not animated with the expectation of a decent competence; and, from the dependent mode of their election, are not encouraged to deserve their promotion by a consistent dignity of character.

But there are not wanting a few men of great knowledge and eminence, as well in their professional studies as in other branches of polite learning. Beside Mr. Aporta, whom I look up to as a kind of phenomenon in the literary world, I have met with two or three clergymen who are greatly distinguished for their erudition, and who would do credit to any church.

It is remarkable, that the liturgies of these reformed churches are not exactly the same; a diversity owing to the independence of so many small commonwealths, which are absolute, within their little territories, in all concerns that do not affect the political union of the three Leagues.

The churches of the German communities use the liturgy of Zurich; but as this form of prayer was amended and refined in 1766, some of the ministers admit the new, and others still retain the ancient liturgy.

Stephen Gabriel, pastor of Ilantz, a person of great learning in the beginning of the last century, translated into the Romanish of the Grey League the liturgy of Zurich; and the same form of prayer is used in Upper and Lower Engadina, adapted to their respective idioms ⁵. The ministers of the Italian churches employ a translation of the Genevan liturgy ⁶.

The old style is in use among the Protestants, the new style among the Catholics; a few years ago an attempt was made to introduce the latter among the Protestants. The inhabitants of Pregalia admitted it, and those of Upper Engadina offered also to receive it, if the town of Coire would set the example. Its admission, however, being strongly opposed by a party on religious scruples, it was absolutely rejected, and the inhabitants of Pregalia again adopted the old style ⁷.

The revenues of the three Leagues arise from the following articles:

1. The duties upon the merchandise which passes through the Grisons, the Valteline, and

⁵ For the Romanish spoken in Upper and Lower Engadina, see Letter 90.

⁶ In 1759 a new service was introduced into the churches of Pregalia; but, on account of its length, soon fell into disuse.

⁷ I am informed, that since my departure from the Grisons, the new style has been adopted by several Protestant communities.

English, French, and Silesian, through Germany; fine linen and muslins from Switzerland: and as the only manufacture throughout the whole country is that of cotton established at Coire, it is evident that the balance of trade must turn considerably against them. They are enabled to support this difference by means of the estates which the Grisons possess in the subject provinces, by the sums which the governors draw from those provinces, by public and private pensions from France and Austria, by money saved in foreign services, and by the duties upon the merchandise passing through their territories.

As most of the Grison peasants weave cloth and linen for the use of their families; it would be no difficult undertaking to introduce manufactures in different parts. But it is remarkable, that in these little republics a strange prejudice prevails against commerce; and that the project of establishing manufactures is opposed by many leading men of the country. It is difficult to discover the occasion of these illiberal principles; it has been imputed to a suspicion, that if the people should become opulent by commerce, they would be less open to influence; and the powerful families, who now direct the public affairs, would lose their ascendancy. Besides these reasons, which are of too delicate a nature to be openly acknowledged, other motives of a more generous complexion have been assigned.

The advocates against extending commerce assert, that as the true riches of every country consist in the products of agriculture, all occupations, which turn the attention of the people from that one great object, are detrimental to the general good
of

of society; and particularly, that in free states manufactures tend to enervate the inhabitants, to introduce the baneful effects of luxury, to depress the spirit of freedom, and to destroy the general simplicity of manners.

These reasons, however specious in appearance, will prove fallacious upon mature consideration. If in a country, which subsists chiefly by agriculture, manufactures are pursued to the total neglect of husbandry, they then become detrimental: but this is seldom the case; as, by adding to the general consumption, manufactures usually tend to increase, instead of diminishing, the products of the earth. Such have been the effects in the mountains of Neufchatel, where the forests have been cleared, and the country converted into pasture, or sown with grain. Manufactures and commerce are still farther serviceable in augmenting the number of inhabitants, which form the true riches of a country. For whenever constant opportunities of employing a number of hands occur, children will not be a burden to the peasants, and population will increase; the contrary of which must happen in those districts which afford little occupation.

With respect to the Grisons in particular; their territory being entirely mountainous will not yield sufficient produce for the inhabitants, consequently some means of supplying that deficiency must be adopted. Now surely it would be far more honorable to pursue commerce, even if attended with some unavoidable inconveniences, than to depend for their subsistence upon foreign subsidies, to oppress and exhaust the subject provinces, and to exhibit a regular system of

venality, which almost pervades the whole mass of people.

Nor does the establishment of manufactures tend to enervate the inhabitants, and to diminish the spirit of freedom. In fact, the manufactures in these democratical states are by no means similar to those introduced into large towns, where a number of individuals are collected in the same spot: on the contrary, the work is divided, and distributed among the peasants, who, with their wives and children, weave the cloth at home. By this method they preserve (as I had occasion to remark in the canton of Appenzel) their original simplicity of manners, and maintain the spirit of freedom, even to a greater degree, than in those parts where there is no commerce. Examples are not wanting among the Grisons themselves: the natives of Upper Engadina, who are so much inclined to trade, are in reality more free and less influenced than the people of the other communities; nor is it observed, that the inhabitants of the valley of Pretigau have become more enervated, since they have been employed in preparing cotton for the manufacture at Coire. In fact, that kind of occupation does not always take the peasants from more active employments. In summer they are at leisure to cultivate the earth, while their wives and children attend principally to the manufactures: during the long winters, which last in these Alpine regions for six months without intermission, agriculture is necessarily suspended; and these occupations succeed the more laborious exertions of the field.

As the principal commerce of the Grisons and the subject provinces is carried on across the lake

of Como with Milan, I shall give you an account of the inland navigation, which has been lately established for the purpose of facilitating that commerce; the several parts of which I had the curiosity to visit.

The water communication between the country of the Grisons and Milan is formed by the lake of Como, by its branch the lake of Lecco, by the Adda, by the canals of the Adda and Trezzo.

The canal of Trezzo, called also *Canale Della Martesana*, begins at Trezzo, situated on the Adda, and is carried to Milan. This cut, which is 24 miles in length, begun in 1457, under the reign of Francis Sforza, and completed in 1460, did not at first serve for the purpose of navigation more than two days in the week; being principally used for overflowing the low grounds with water, necessary for the cultivation of rice. In 1573, during the administration of the duke of Aberquerque, Spanish governor of Milan, the cut was enlarged, and the body of water so much increased, as to admit the passage of vessels every day.

Still, however, the Adda was not navigable during the whole way between the lake of Lecco and Trezzo; and consequently there was no water communication between the lake of Como and Milan.

The navigation of that river was interrupted by a succession of cataracts for about a mile, during which space the fall of water is equal to the perpendicular height of about 80 feet.

In order to obviate this inconvenience, a canal was projected, in 1519, but no part was carried

into execution, excepting a mole, which was thrown across the Adda. In 1591 the work was undertaken, and the canal completed in 1599. But the stream of the Adda was no sooner admitted into the cut, than the banks broke down, for so considerable a way, as to render all repairs impracticable.

This breach, generally imputed to the violence of the current, was principally owing to the nature of the rock, in which the cut was excavated, and to an error in the original plan.

The rock is a composition of gravel and sand, or a species of pudding-stone, of loose texture and unequal solidity; and as the cut was made too near the precipice, which overhangs the Adda, that part of the rock which formed the banks of the canal was not sufficiently strong to support the sluices and the weight of water.

From that time the canal was considered an impracticable work, and abandoned; until a few years ago it was again undertaken by order of the present emperor Joseph the Second, and carried on with such expedition, as to be finished within the space of three years.

The canal of the Adda is about a mile in length, and is excavated in the rocks, which form the precipitous banks of the Adda. In some places the rock has been hollowed to the depth of 100 feet, and the breadth of 200. The fall of water, which is equal to the perpendicular height of about 80 feet, is broken by six sluices; and the water is supplied by the running stream of the Adda. The breadth of the canal is 70 feet.

The expense has already amounted to near L. 100,000. The engineers, however, seem to

have fallen into the same error which attended the original plan; by forming the cut too near the precipice. In consequence of this inadvertence, the water lately forced down the banks of the canal; and the damage was not repaired without much difficulty and a considerable expense.

Notwithstanding the precaution of letting out the superfluous water by flood-gates, there is reason to apprehend, that these breaches will be frequent; and that the recent labors may be rendered as ineffectual as those of the Spaniards.

But should the canal continue in its present state, and the navigation not be interrupted; yet the advantages will hardly compensate for the expense of making and keeping it in repair. The commerce between the Grisons and inhabitants of Milan is so extremely contracted, that if all the merchandise which passes between these two people was conveyed along the canals, the tolls and duties would be very inadequate to the expense.

But the navigation from the lake of Como to Milan is attended with so many difficulties, that the greatest part of the merchandise is sent by land, as the most commodious and less hazardous way. The current of the Adda is so rapid, that the vessels cannot be towed up without great expense and delay, and is in some parts so extremely dangerous, that boats are not unfrequently overset. The only persons, therefore, who forward their merchandise along the Adda and the canals to the lake of Lecco are the contractors, who furnish the Grisons with corn and salt, and who are compelled by the government of Milan to send those commodities by water.

And when it is considered that Milan receives from the Grisons only planks, stones for building, and coals, but supplies them with corn, rice, and salt; the articles of export evidently exceed those of import; and the navigation from Milan to the lake of Como is of more consequence than that from the lake of Como to Milan. The canal of the Adda, therefore, which has only facilitated the inland navigation from the Grisons to Milan, and not from Milan to the Grisons, though a work of extreme difficulty, and redounding greatly to the honor of the sovereign who completed it, will scarcely produce advantages equal to its original cost and frequent repairs ¹.

LETTER 89.

*Alliances of the Grisons with the Swiss Cantons—
France—Venice—and the House of Austria.*

THE alliances of the Grisons with foreign powers come next under consideration.

The Three Leagues, though always esteemed allies of the Swiss, yet are not, strictly speaking, in confederacy with all the cantons. In 1497 the Grey League, and in the following year the League of God's House, entered into a perpetual

¹ The curious reader is referred to the Abbé Frisi's account of the Canals of the Adda, and Trezzo, and of the other navigable canals in the Milanese. See *Pauli Frisi Opera*, Tom. ii. *Dei Canali Navigabili di Lombardia*, 4to. Lib. ii. Cap. 3, 4, & 5.

treaty with Zurich, Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug and Glaris. Although the League of Ten Jurisdictions was not included in the same treaty, yet it was afterwards declared that, in consequence of its connexion with the other two leagues, it should be entitled to the same assistance and good offices. The Three Leagues are in close alliance with Berne and Zurich, to whose mediation they have frequently had recourse in points of disagreement. By these treaties the Grisons are called allies of the Swiss; and, in consequence of a request from the particular cantons, with which they are united, would, in case of invasion or rebellion, be supplied with succours from all the Swiss Republics.

The Grisons contracted the first alliance with France in 1509 with Louis the Twelfth, and in 1516 were comprised in the treaty of perpetual peace between Francis the First and the Helvetic body. Since that period they have, as occasion offered, renewed their private confederacy with the kings of France; but they were not comprehended in the late treaty of Soleure, concluded between Louis the Sixteenth and the other states of Switzerland. The king of France maintains an envoy in this country, and has two Grison regiments in his service ².

In 1707 a treaty was formed between the Grisons on the one side, queen Anne and the United Provinces on the other, for permitting the free passage of troops marching into Italy. This is the only alliance by which the Grisons, as a

² It is probable, however, that they have since contracted a separate treaty with France.

particular state, are connected with England. Our court formerly had a minister in the country, but for some time the English envoy to the Swiss cantons resident at Berne, has transacted business with this republic.

The Venetians, for the purpose of procuring the free passage of the Valteline, had often solicited an alliance with the Grisons; but their projects were always defeated by the influence of the Spanish monarch, who possessed the Milanese; nor were they able to effectuate the accomplishment of their design, until the Spanish branch of the House of Austria became extinct in the person of Charles the Second. Soon after that event, when Milan was the object of contention between the emperor and the French, the Venetians obtained the consent of the Grisons to enter into a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, which was ratified at Coire the 17th of December 1706. By this accommodation it was stipulated, among other articles on the side of the Venetians, to pay an annual pension of 711 Spanish doubloons, and to furnish the Grisons in time of war with a thousand Venetian ducats per month: in return, the Grisons agreed to permit the passage of the Venetian troops through the Valteline, and to make a road leading from Morbegno over the mountain of St. Mark into the Venetian territories, by which accommodation the merchandise might be conveyed to and from Venice to Germany without going through the Tyrol.

This treaty, concluded for twenty years, was to continue in force for the same additional period, unless, one of the contracting parties should withdraw before the expiration of the first term;

but though obtained by the Venetians with much trouble and expence, it was not long fulfilled by either of the negotiating powers. In a few years the Venetians omitted the payment of the annual pension, and the Grisons neglected to make the road over the mountain of St. Mark. The two republics, however, continued upon terms of amity; and the Venetians, soon after the expiration of the forty years, desirous of renewing the treaty, offered to discharge the arrears of the pension, if the Grisons would open the proposed communication over the mountain of St. Mark. For this purpose an envoy was dispatched to the Grisons in 1759, and no promises were spared to promote the negotiation: it failed, however, through the influence of the emperors of Germany. The Grisons rejected the proposals of Venice, and still further alienated that republic by the capitulation of Milan. In consequence of this conduct, the Venetians were so incensed as to banish the Grisons who were settled within their territories; and all connexion is now interrupted between the two republics.

The treaties with the House of Austria, as sovereigns of the Milanese, remain to be considered. It is not my purpose to mention any treaties which the Grisons contracted with the dukes of Milan of the house of Sforza, or those by which Philip the Second and his successors acknowledged their claim to the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio; but I shall begin with the celebrated alliance, or, as it is called, the *Capitulation* of Milan in 1639; because it superseded all others, and established that close connexion between the Grisons and the House of Austria, which has since continued with little interruption.

The following are the principal articles in this capitulation, concluded between Philip the Fourth, king of Spain, as duke of Milan, and the Three Leagues :

An hereditary and perpetual peace between the two contracting powers.

Weekly fairs to be established in the neighbouring towns of the Milanese, in which the Grisons may purchase grain, and also enjoy a free trade, for the purpose of importing and exporting all kinds of merchandise and arms, upon paying only the accustomed duties.

A free passage through the territories of the Grisons for the Spanish troops, with a reserve, that no more than a company of 150 infantry, and a troop of 60 cavalry shall march through the same day.

Free passage of the Grison troops through the Milanese, upon condition that they do not march against the allies of Spain, and that more than two or three companies do not pass at one time.

The king may levy at his own expense, in cases of necessity, a body of troops not exceeding 6000 nor less than 2000, for his service against all his enemies, except the confederates of the Grisons, and particularly the republic of Venice.

All Grison troops in the service of any state or sovereign, intending to attack the territories of the king of Spain, shall be immediately recalled; and all officers and soldiers, who enrol themselves in any foreign service, shall be forbidden to invade his majesty's territories.

If the Grisons should be engaged in war, the king obliges himself to furnish, within fifteen days, 2000 infantry and 200 cavalry; and if the

Grisons prefer assistance in money, to pay 1000 scudi ³ per month as long as the war lasts; also to send into the country of Chiavenna six pieces of campaign artillery, with ammunition sufficient for the service of the war.

No troops shall be allowed to pass through the respective territories to the disadvantage of the two contracting parties.

To each league the king promises an annual pension of 1500 scudi; and also to pay for the education of two students from each league at Pavia or Milan, besides a donation of sixty scudi to each student.

All ancient alliances with any other powers are permitted to remain in force on both sides, and on the part of the Grisons, the continuance of their treaty with France is particularly stipulated: they promise, however, that they will not renew it in case of a rupture between the two crowns; and if renewed, they will declare at the same time that it is to be suspended during such a rupture, and that they will not for the future contract an alliance with any foreign power to the prejudice of this perpetual peace.

If either parties should be attacked, the other, without any regard to the aforementioned stipulations in favor of their ancient allies, is bound to give assistance against such invaders, excepting however on his majesty's part, the German branch of the House of Austria; if that house should engage in war with the Grisons, for the maintenance of its rights in the territory of the Grisons.

³ A Milanese scudo = to about 4 s. 6 d.

The causes which gave rise to this capitulation, as well as the articles respecting the Valteline, having been already related ⁴; it will be necessary only to remark, that the Spaniards guaranteed to the Grisons the possession of their subject provinces, and to the subjects the confirmation of their privileges. In case of any dissension between the Grisons and their subjects, the dispute is to be referred to the mediation of the king of Spain.

This treaty, signed at Milan on the 3d of September 1639, by the marquis de Legnes, governor of Milan on the part of the Spanish king, and on the other by the deputies of the Three Leagues, was preserved inviolate, and a good understanding maintained between the contracting powers, until the extinction of the Spanish branch of the House of Austria in the person of Charles the Second. During the war of the succession, which followed his death, the Milanese frequently changed its masters, until it was secured to the emperor Charles the Sixth by the peace of Utrecht. Charles had no sooner firmly established his power in his new dominions, than he turned his attention to the Grisons, and prevailed upon them to renew the capitulation of Milan. One of the principal arguments which gave success to his negotiation, was the promise, not only of continuing the annual pension, but even of discharging the arrears, which amounted to twenty-nine payments.

This new treaty, in which the German branch of the House of Austria succeeded to the place of

⁴ Letter 75.

the Spanish, was concluded on the 24th of October 1726, by count Daun, governor of Milan, in the name of Charles the Sixth, and the deputies of the Three Leagues. It confirmed and ratified the ancient capitulation of 1639, with a few modifications and additions, of which the principal are the following:

The duties upon corn purchased by the Grisons in the Milanese are lowered two-thirds.

The tenth article in the first treaty, by which all Grison troops in the service of any state designing to attack the territories of the House of Austria are subject to immediate recall, is annulled; and the Grisons are free to serve any foreign prince in time of war without incurring the breach of this capitulation.

The number of students educated at the expense of the emperor is increased to twelve.

On the 8th of February 1763, this hereditary league was renewed by count Firmian, minister plenipotentiary, in the name of the empress of Germany as sovereign of Milan, and the deputies of the Three Leagues.

By this treaty the capitulations of 1639 and 1726 are ratified, and serve as the basis of the present union; they are also augmented by the following articles.

The empress renounces all right to the lake of Chiavenna, together with a small portion of the adjacent territory, and cedes them in perpetuity to the Grisons.

The limits between the Milanese and the territory of the Grisons are accurately fixed.

In return for this cession, the Grisons agree to erect no fortifications upon the ceded territory,

impose no new taxes upon the transport of merchandise, make no new roads; and according to the former capitulation, no troops shall be permitted to pass to the prejudice of the state of Milan.

The empress promises to obtain from the pope an abolition of several ecclesiastical privileges in the Valteline, highly detrimental to society; also to prevent the bishop of Como from granting ecclesiastical privileges to those who, without entering into orders, assume the clerical dress, and are thereby entitled to the immunities of the church; also to correct several other abuses, which render the clergy of the Valteline independent of secular authority, and in civil and criminal causes only amenable to the bishop of Como.

The weekly fairs for the purchase of grain are abolished, and in their stead the House of Austria agrees to supply the Grisons with a certain quantity for themselves and for the subject countries, according to the current price of corn in the Milanese.

The duties upon merchandise exported from the Milanese are lowered, and the customs both in that country and in the territory of the Grisons are established upon a permanent footing, for which purpose a table of the duties is annexed to the treaty.

At present the House of Austria directs all the affairs of the Grisons with the most unbounded authority. That power has acquired this sway by regularly discharging the public pensions, by holding the leading members of the diet in its pay, by being a guarantee of the Valteline, and mediator in all the disputes between the Grisons and their subjects.

L E T T E R 90.

Languages of the Grisons — Particularly the Romansh — Its Antiquity — Origin — and two principal Dialects.

THE languages of the Grisons are the Italian, German, and Romansh. The Italian, which is a jargon similar to the Milanese dialect, is spoken by the inhabitants of Pregalia and Puschlavo, and in the vallies of Mafox and Calanca.

The German is spoken throughout the whole League of the Ten Jurisdictions, a few villages excepted; in the League of God's House, at Avers, Coire, and the four villages; and in the Grey League, at Splügen, Cepina, and other villages of the Rheinwald, at Valts, in the valley of St. Pedro, at Tufis, Reichenau, Feldsperg, Tamins, Meyerhof, Versam, and Valendros.

Some of the earliest and most authentic writers upon the Grisons have asserted, that the natives of the Rheinwald speak a Celtic idiom, a language neither German or Romansh, but more similar to the German; although they are entirely surrounded by people of a different tongue, and are neither contiguous, nor have any great intercourse, with the German inhabitants. From this remarkable circumstance they are led to conjecture, that the natives of the Rheinwald are descended from the *Lepontii*, a Celtic nation, and considered as the original inhabitants of this country before the influx of the Tuscans; and they ground the proofs of this assertion upon the numerous names of many

castles which seem to be derived from a ⁵ Celtic or German origin. This hypothesis, however, rests upon a wrong basis, and is grounded upon two mistakes. For in the first place, the language of the Rheinwald is German; and secondly, although the inhabitants of this district are immediately surrounded by persons speaking the Italian and Romanish, yet they are within half a day's journey of Roncaglia, Tufis, and Furstenau, where German is the common language. It is more probable, therefore, that the Rheinwald was peopled by a German colony, which penetrated into these regions in the darker ages, when the Germans issued from their forests, and spread themselves over Europe. With respect to the German names of castles and towns we may remark, that many of them are corrupted from the Romanish, that others have been adopted in later times; and as a proof, that the Romanish is more ancient in this country than the German, the greatest part of the mountains, vallies and oldest castles, have Romanish appellations, even in the districts inhabited by the Germans ⁶.

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⁵ Cluverius and other authors have erroneously supposed the Gothic and Celtic nations to have been the same, and their language to have given rise to the Teutonic or German: but the learned translator (Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore) of Mallet's Northern Antiquities, has established, beyond a doubt, that the Celtic and Gothic nations were originally different, and that there was not the least affinity between the languages; the Celtic having given rise to the old Gallic, British, Erse, &c. &c. and the Gothic to the German. See Translator's Preface to Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

⁶ The German names adopted from the Romanish are very numerous; such as *Chur* from *Curia* or *Coire*, *Splugen*
or

This circumstance leads me to the consideration of the Rhetian, or as it is more commonly called, the ⁷ Romanſh, which is the vernacular tongue among the greateſt part of the Grifons; a language in former times more extenſively diſfuſed than it is at preſent, being ſpoken at Coire and the adjacent diſtricts, and through the Tyrol, as far as Innsbruck.

I had the good fortune to meet with a German tranſlation of Mr. Planta's excellent Treatiſe upon the Romanſh of the Grifons, of which I had before ſeen the original in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1775. The peruſal of this treatiſe firſt excited my inquiries; and although I am obliged to differ from the ingenious author in a few inſtances, yet I hold myſelf indebted to him, for having greatly facilitated my reſearches, and for a more accurate knowledge of the ſubject than I could otherwiſe have obtained.

The Romanſh of this country is divided into two principal dialects, the one ſpoken in the Grey League, and the other in that of God's Houſe. Theſe two dialects, although materially varying as to pronunciation and orthography, are yet ſufficiently ſimilar in the general arrangement and expreſſions, to be comprized within the ſame inquiry.

or *Speluga*, *Cepina*, *Tuſis* or *Toffan*, *Davos*, *Pretigau* or *Rhetigoua*, *Caſtels*, &c.

The following German names are evidently of a very late date: *Furſtenau*, *Furſtenberg*, *Haldenſtein*, *Lichtenſtein*, *Heinzenberg*, *Reichenau*, *Rheinwald*, &c. as will eaſily be allowed by any one converſant in that tongue.

⁷ It is called by the natives *Arumaunſh*, *Rumaunſh*, *Romanſch*, *Lingua Romanſcha*.

It must always be extremely difficult to trace the origin of any language: for etymologists are too apt to build a favorite system, by mistaking a partial for a general resemblance; and finding a few similar expressions in two languages, which in other respects are essentially different, conclude them to be derived from the same stock.

The Grison writers, however, pretend, that the proofs of the antiquity and origin of their language are too well founded to admit of the least doubt. They assert that the Rhetian tongue is derived from the Latin, or from a dialect of the Latin; and the argument upon which they ground their assertion may be reduced to three principal heads. 1. The history of the country. 2. The names of places which have evidently a Latin origin. 3. Its similarity to the Latin, and to other languages derived mediately or immediately from the Latin.

1. The history of the country. Livy, who has given the earliest account of these Alps, informs us, that under the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, a colony of Tuscans, driven from Lombardy by the Gauls, settled in these mountainous regions; and the same historian adds, that in his time the Rhetians, who were descended from these first colonists, still retained some traces of the Tuscan pronunciation, although vitiated by lapse of time and change of situation.

Since that period, we have no positive documents of any subsequent emigration, although it is probable, that upon many occasions in which the Italians quitted their country, they retired to these Alps, and mixed with the natives.

In some of these excursions it is likely, that the inhabitants of Latium, or others, who spoke the Latin, or at least a dialect of that tongue, which must have had a considerable affinity to the Tuscan, established themselves in these regions; but whether this settlement happened during the invasion of Hannibal, or at any subsequent period, cannot be exactly ascertained.

About the time of the Cæsars, Rhetia became an object of Roman conquest; and frequent expeditions were made into these parts, until the whole country was reduced to a Roman province, and governed by a pretor resident at Coire. During that period, many Roman families established themselves in these Alps, and diffused the knowledge of their language.

On the decline of the Roman power, Rhetia came under the dominion of the Franks, a German nation. The new people introduced their own tongue into many places; and in others, gave a new turn and modification to the Latin, by the addition of auxiliary verbs, and by the frequent use of the articles.

2. The second proof of the derivation of the Romanish from the Latin, rests upon the numerous names of mountains, rivers, towns, and castles, which evidently seem to have a Roman origin. To use the words of the ecclesiastical historian ⁸, whom I have so often quoted; “Persons versed in classic antiquity, who travel among the Grisons, will, from the frequency of Latin appellations, conceive that they are passing through Latium, Etruria, and Campania. They will

⁸ Aporta, Hist. I. p. 6.

trace the ancient names *Ardeates*, *Vettones*, *Sentimates*, *Samnites*, in *Ardets*, *Vettan*, *Sent*, and *Samnun*. They will meet with mount *Umbria*, the river *Albula*, the towns *Antium*, *Susa*, *Lavinium*, *Tutium*, *Seaptia*, *Silium*, *Cernetia*, and many others: derivations so plain and so frequently occurring, evidently certify their origin."

3. The affinity of the Romanish, as well to the Latin, as to the languages immediately derived from the Latin.

First, a collateral argument in favor of its derivation from the Latin may be deduced from the word *Romanish*, the general appellation of the language, and the particular dialect of Engadina, called *Ladin*; both these terms having in effect the same signification, *Latin*⁹ and *Roman* being synonymous. But without insisting too much on this conjecture, we need only refer to a book written in the Grison tongue, to perceive the general affinity of its vocabulary to that of the Latin. In this comparison, however, great allowance must be made for the variation, which must have taken place between a mother tongue, as written in the best authors, and its offspring, which for many centuries was merely colloquial, and which has not only been occasionally intermixed with other languages, but has suffered a change in its general modification by the admission of the German syntax.

⁹ Latin and Ladin are the same words, only differently pronounced: for it must be evident to any one the least conversant with different languages, how often the *t* and the *d* are substituted for each other. Quintilian says that the old Romans frequently wrote a *t*, before they had any fixed rules of orthography, instead of a *d*; for Alexander — Alexanter.

Yet it by no means follows, that the Romanſh, although the undoubted offspring of the Latin, ſhould have been derived immediately from that language, ſuch as it is found in the beſt authors, or as conſigned to writing during any period of the Roman era; but rather, that it owed its origin to the vulgar tongue, as it was ſpoken by the people, or to ſome provincial dialect of Italy.

In all living tongues there is a colloquial as well as a written language: for how different are the Engliſh and Scottiſh idioms, and even the dialects of Lancaſhire and Norfolk? In France the Pariſian accent varies eſſentially from the provincial pronunciation; and the ſeveral patois of Provence, Lorrain, and Gaſcony, cannot be underſtood without reſpective glosſaries. The ſame circumſtance prevails in Germany, where the idioms of the Saxons, Auſtrians, and Suabians, are ſcarcely intelligible to each other. That this was equally the caſe with the Latin, we may collect not only from the general analogy of language, but likewise from the teſtimony of the beſt authors.

The origin of the Italian and of the other dialects, which are derived principally from the Latin, is frequently attributed to the invaſion of the Goths under Alaric; when a new language was introduced throughout Italy and the Roman provinces. But this is not precisely the truth; for theſe ſeveral dialects aroſe from a corruption, or at leaſt a variation, in the primitive Latin, antecedent to the irruption of the Goths, or even to the times of the Cæſars. Italy was occupied by many people originally independent: the *Umbri*, *Oſci*, *Samnites*, *Etruſci*, and *Piceni*, all of

derived from the colloquial Latin, and still further modified by the adoption of the German syntax, is, from the peculiar situation of the natives, and from its not having been consigned to writing till within these last two hundred years, little changed from its primitive state; we have reason to expect, that it should bear evident marks of affinity to those dialects which have originated from the colloquial Latin, and were equally modified by the German syntax; it follows also, that the resemblance will be greater in proportion as we can trace earlier and ruder specimens: and this analogy is consonant to experience.

The earliest language, which undoubtedly draws its origin from the colloquial Latin, is the ancient Romanish, called *Lingua Romana*, the mother of the French tongue. It was understood in Italy, in the Morea, and Constantinople, and was universally diffused throughout the southern parts of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Mr. Planta, in the treatise to which I alluded at the beginning of this letter, has unquestionably proved that this tongue and the Romanish of the Grisons are the same language.

We cannot expect, perhaps, the same evident affinity between the Romanish of the Grisons and any other language now existing; but in comparing it with the Italian, and particularly some provincial dialects of Italy, the Spanish⁴, the Patois of Provence, Languedoc, Gascony, and Lorraine, we shall easily perceive, that they originated from the same stock, with the difference which

⁴ In comparing it with the Spanish, we must exclude those words which have a strong guttural pronunciation, and are evidently derived from the Arabic.

time, a variety of pronunciation, and the mixture of other tongues, must necessarily occasion in all languages. With respect to the Italian, it is remarkable that the Romanish less resembles the pure Tuscan idiom than the provincial dialects; a circumstance easily accounted for. The Tuscan has been gradually purified and refined, until it has undergone a total change from its original state; and the provincial dialects, being less committed to writing, have not been subject to such variation.

To these languages I may add that spoken by the Vaudois, inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, in the 16th century, of which Leger has printed specimens, the originals whereof are now extant in the public library at Cambridge, and also the Wallachian tongue. The latter is derived from the Latin, introduced by the colony of Romans, which Trajan established in those parts. The present natives, descendants of that colony, although surrounded by people speaking the Hungarian and Slavonian, talk a language in which evident traces of the original Latin are still preserved. It bears a general resemblance to the Italian; and Mr. Aporta, who passed some time in Hungary, informed me, that, allowing for the variety of pronunciation, he comprehended the natives, and found in their expressions no inconsiderable degree of affinity to the Romanish.

The Romanish of the Grisons, as I have before observed, is divided into two principal dialects, that of the Grey League and the *Ladin* of Engadina; for it is needless to mention separately the Romanish spoken in the valleys of Munster and Surset.

about the 28th year of his age. Highly distinguished ⁸ for integrity, learning, and abilities, he acquired universal esteem; and was raised to every honor which his grateful country was capable of bestowing. Indeed such was the respect generally shown to his superior talents, that no affair of moment was transacted by the Republic of the Grisons in which he was not consulted. His acquaintance with foreign languages, his knowledge of the world, and the politeness of his address, rendered him the fittest instrument to negotiate with foreign powers; and he always acquitted himself with honor of the trust which was reposed in him. In a military line he greatly signalized himself as commander of the Grison forces against James of Medicis, for the rapidity of his movements, his personal valor, and cautious conduct; and by laying siege to the fortress of Mufson ⁹, he brought the campaign to a speedy and successful issue.

He was greatly instrumental in forwarding the progress of the reformation. Although inclined to favor the new doctrines, yet he was never hurried away by a misguided zeal. Averse to renounce the religion in which he had been educated, without the strongest conviction of its

⁸ *Ille quidem anno 1483 natus, bis Vallis Tellinae Gubernator, Episcopalis Aulae Curator, plurimis ad exteros Principes legationibus clarus, in Patria vero omnibus honoris gradibus nactus, eruditione, dexteritate, & auctoritate unus in Rætia florebat; ut Reipublicae lumen, fidus, & decus merito habeatur. Eo virtutes quia multam ipsi conciliaverunt famam, nulla in Republica momenti agebatur causa, cujus vel arbiter non esset vel consilium non advocaretur, &c. Aporta, tom. I. p. 229.*

⁹ Situated near the Lake of Como, not far from Gravedona.

superstitious tendency, he studied the controversy between the two sects, and weighed the arguments on both sides with the utmost deliberation; but he no sooner became a profelyte to the reformed opinions, than he showed himself as zealous in promoting, as he had previously been circumspect in adopting them. Nor did he only favor the reformation by his example and authority, but he even promulgated its doctrines. As few natives of Engadina were qualified, by their learning and theological knowledge, to preach in the Ladin, the progress of the reformation was considerably retarded. For these reasons John de Travers, who had critically studied and written in his own tongue, condescended to instruct the people. Having obtained the permission of the church, he ascended the pulpit¹, and explained in the most perspicuous manner the Christian doctrines. His distinguished abilities his exalted rank, his venerable age, and his amiable character, drew from all quarters a numerous audience; while his discourses, delivered with a noble simplicity of eloquence, made the deepest impression, and never failed to increase the number of profelytes. This respectable man finished his career, which had been so useful to

¹ *Stupuit tunc ordo Evangelicus, stupuit tota Rætia contemplans eximium inclitumque Heroa, inter Rætiae gentis optimates, diu principem habitum, summis etiam, patriæ honoribus, debito virtutibus premio insignitum, senio nunc confectum suggestu in publica sacra æde conscenso, populum docere, & alia Ecclesiastica munia, quando res poscebat, operam suam cum ordinario Ministro conjungendo, & laborem participando, summo audientium applausu undique ex locis circa vicinis, integris turmis ad ejus sermones audiendos confluentibus, obiit. Aporta, p. 239.*

with the Latin, which was the original mother tongue. Hence we may observe, that the publications of Biveronius afford the most curious specimen of the Ladin, as it existed in its most ancient state, when it was chiefly a colloquial language ⁵.

The possibility of writing and printing the Ladin was no sooner proved by such authorities, than the press teemed with productions calculated to disseminate the reformed opinions. These publications, however, (not excepting even the performance of Campel) as well as all which appeared in the 15th and in the beginning of the 16th century, are now obsolete; and, without a glossary, almost unintelligible to the natives themselves, who have not made them the object of their particular study.

No version of the whole Bible was published in the Ladin before the year 1679: it was printed at Scuol ⁶; in the dialect of Lower Engadina; and republished, with various explanations and a new index, in 1743. Besides the translation of the New Testament by Biveronius, which is obsolete, a new ⁷ version was printed in 1640 in the dialect of Upper Engadina, and is in common use. But the natives of this district have no other version of the Old Testament than that of Lower Engadina.

As it would be uninteresting to send you a dry catalogue of the several publications in the Ladin,
I

⁵ I shall insert, as a specimen of his language, in the end of this letter, the Apostles' Creed, published in 1571.
N^o 2.

⁶ N^o 5.

⁷ N^o 6.

I shall therefore only remark in general, that except a history ⁸ of the Grisons, compiled from various authors by Aporta, the books in this tongue solely treat of religious subjects. Some of our theological tracts, particularly written by our divines of the last century, are translated into their language; of these I observed, among the list of books in my possession, Bayley's Practice of Piety, and Baxter on Vows.

The Romansh of the Grey League remains to be considered.

The earliest publication in this dialect is a catechism ⁹, translated from the German by Daniel Boniface, pastor of Furstenau, and printed in 1601. It was soon followed by a metrical version of several psalms, ¹, accompanied with other hymns, published at Coire in 1611.

The author of this useful psalter was Stephen Gabriel, a native of Vettan, in Lower Engadina, and pastor of Ilants: he was a man of considerable learning; and his zeal for the reformed religion exposed him to the fury of the Catholics, who, in 1620, plundered his house, burnt his library, and hanged him in effigy. Gabriel having escaped to Zurich, drew, up, during his retirement, an account of that controversy between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, which in those turbulent times nearly excited a civil war among the Grisons. This polemic treatise, written in the Romansh, was printed at Zurich in 1625; and was answered in 1630 by a Roman Catholic priest, in the same tongue: a work

⁸ N° 7.

3.

⁹ N° 8.

¹ N° 9.

which is probably the first production printed by the Catholics in the Romanſh. Upon the ceſſation of the civil commotions Gabriel returned to Ilants, where he paſſed the remainder of his days in tranquillity.

Stephen was ſucceeded in his preferment and literary purſuits by his ſon Lucius Gabriel, who, in 1648, gave a verſion of the New Teſtament²; a work much wanted, as the inhabitants of the Grey League were moſtly ignorant of any but their own language, and could with difficulty comprehend the tranſlation in the dialect of Engadina.

It is remarkable, that this verſion, which was printed only forty-eight years after the Romanſh of the Grey League became a written language, ſhould ſtill continue in uſe; a proof either, that the language has not received that degree of refinement which the Ladin has experienced; or that the firſt perſons who wrote in this idiom took great pains to ſettle the orthography, and arrange the grammatical conſtruction.

The liſt of books publiſhed in this dialect are, for the moſt part, far inferior, both as to number and merit, to thoſe written in the Ladin; for, excepting the two Gabriels, the Grey League has furniſhed few men who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſuperior learning.

A complete tranſlation of the³ Bible was not given before the year 1718: it was publiſhed at Coire, at the expenſe of the Clergy of the Grey League, and dedicated by the printer to George

² N° 10.

³ N° 11.

the First, who sent in return a present of fifty guineas. This sum being delivered to the printer, and claimed by him as his own property, occasioned a law-suit between him and the editors: the latter, however, although in equity they had the sole right, were never able to obtain any part of the donation.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Vocabulary of the Romansh of Upper Engadina.

God	Dieu	Wine	Vin	Verfes	Vers
Heavens	{ Cèl, pronounced Chel	Water	Ova	To love	Amær
		Fire	{ Foe, pr. like Feu	To listen	Tadlær
Cloud	Nuvla	Air	Aier	To believe	Crair
Rain	Plovgia	Earth	Tearra	To go	Or
Hail	Tempesta	Wood	Gód	To come	Gnir
Mouth	Boucchia	Tree	Bæsch	To feign	Finger
Nose	Næs	Horfe	Chiuvalg	To beat	Batter
	{ Oelg, pr. like the French Oeil	Dog	Chiaun	To slay	Amazzare
Eye		Lion	Liun	Great	Grand
		Tiger	Tigra	Little	Pitschen
		Man	Hom	Fat	Grass
Head	Testa	Woman	Duona	Thin	Megier
Ear	Araglia	Husband	Marid	Black	Nair
Hand	Maun	Wife	Muglier	White	Alb
Foot	Pè	Girl	Matta	Red	Coatschen
Body	{ Chuerp, or, Courp	Son	Filg	Blue	Blow
		Daughter	Figlia	Green	Vert
Hair	Chiapè	Soldier	Súdo	Yellow	Mellen
Bread	Pain	Poet	Poarta	Brown	Brun
				Grey	Grisch

1 Un

2 Duos

3 Trais

4 Quater

5 Tschinch

6 Ses

7 Sett

8 { Oach, in Lower Engadina Ott

9 Nov

10 Desch

11 Undesh

12 Dudesch, &c.

20 Vainch

30 Trenta

100 Tschient

1000 Mille

**TITLES of the earliest BOOKS, and of the
BIBLES printed in the ROMANSH.**

N^o 1. The translation of the New Testament by Biveronius. *L'g Nuof Saint Testamaint da nos Signer Jesu Christi Prais our delg Latin & our d' oters launguax & huossa da noef miss in Arumaunsch très Jachiam Bifrun d' Agnedina. Psalm 119. Tieu uiers es una glimyra a mes pes & una liusth à mieu pass. Squischo ilg an 1560.*

N^o 2. Another scarce work, printed by the same author in 1571, and which is in my possession, containing a catechism and paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, in question and answer, bears the following title. *Una cuorta & suorma da intraguidar la giuventiina & par 'lg prüm co es cugniosche Deus & se d'sues. Alhura üna declaratiun de la Chredinsha, dals dischs cumandamains, dalg Pædernus, dals sainchs sacramains, tuot très 'ls Predichiauns da Chuoir in moed da dumanda aschantó, & missa in Aromaunsch, 1571. From this book I shall insert the Apostles Creed, as a specimen of the early Romansh.*

“ Eau craich in Dieu Pædar Omniputaint, creatur dalg tschil & de la terra. Et in Jesum Christum ses sullet filg, nos Signur. L'eg quæl es concepieu dalg Sainch Spiert, naschieu da la Vergina Maria. Induró suot Potio Pilato, crucifichió muort, & sappulieu. Jeu ad ifiern, & aint ilg ters di da muort arejustó. Et es jeu à tschil, & setza dalg dret maun da ses bab celestiel. Innounder che el vain à gnir à judichier vifs & muorts.

Eau chraich aint ilg fainc spiert. Eau craich che saia la sainchia fidela christiauna baselgia. Communiun dals senchs. Remischiun dals pchios. Resustation de la chiarn. Et sieva aquaista vita, la vita eterna. Amen."

N° 3. Title of Campel's translation of the Psalms, second edition. *Un Cudesch Da Psalms Tratts our da'gl Tudaischk, e luguads da chiantar in Ladin. Proa quai alchiunas Spiritualas Chiantzuns: chi s'ettuengen cun la vardad è scrittura sainckgia, ed our da quella tuutas, &c. Tras Durich Chiampel, Sarviaint de l' g' Evangeli da Jesu Christi a Such in Ingiadina dsuott. Schquischada a Basel 1606.*

N° 4. A Catechism by the Rev. John Planta, of Samada. *Un Cuort Nuzaivel e Bsognius Catechismus, chi cuntain la sustaunza da l'intyra Cretta, e vaira fæ Christiauna, &c. Scrit in Arumauntsch træs Juannem Plantam da Samedan, ministar de la Baselgia da Jesui Christi. Squitscho in Puschlæf træs Cornelium & Anthonium Landuolphs. 1581.*

N° 5. The Bible in the dialect of Lower Engadina. *La sacra Biblia, quai ais Tuot la Sonchia Scrittura in la quala sun comprais tuots Cudaschs dal Velg e Nouf Testamaint cun l'aggiunta dall Apocrypha eschantada, vertida e stampada in lingua Rumaunscha d' Ingadina Bassa tras cumun cuost e lavear da Jacobo Antonio Vulpio, Serviaint da Pled dal Deis in Ftaun, & Jacobo Dorta a Vulpera, Serviaint dal Pled da Deis in Scuol. Stampod in Scuol in Ingadina Bassa tras Jacob Dorza a Vulpara. 1679. Fol. pag. 1524.*

N°. 6. A version of the New Testament by John Gritti, and printed at Basle. *'L Nuof S. Testamaint da Noufs Segnier Jesu Christi huossa da nös vertieu in Romaunsch, our da l' originel Greec, træs Joann. Gritti da Zuoz, &c. Squitcho in Basel træs George Decker, &c. 1649. 8vo. p. 870.*

N^o 7. Aporta's Rhætian Chronicle, printed at Scuol. *Chronica Rhætica order l'Historia da l' origine, guerras, alleanzas, & Auters evenimaints da nossa chiara patria la Rhetia, our da divers Authurs compomuda da Nott da Porta, V. D. M. & par bain public acuost seis fatta stampar da Nuot N. Schucan tras Jacobo N. Gadina & Jac. Rauchio. In Scuol. an. 1742. 8vo. p. 209.*

N^o 8. The first book in the Romanth of the Grey League is a Catechism by Daniel Boniface, under the following title: printed at Lindau. *Catechismus, cust mussameint dels Principals Punctys della Christianeita Religiun par las Baselgias & Skolas da Communas Trees Ligias, tras quell ault amussaa S. Johann Pontifella da Cuira fatg per Tudeschk, ussa da nies tras Daniel Boniface mefs ora in Romaunsch, &c Squitchau a Lindau vid igl Bodensee tras Johann Ludwig Brem. 1601.*

The following expressions in his preface, “& eint in noss linguagh mæ na nean ne scritts ne squitcheus;” nothing having as yet appeared in our language, either written or printed; sufficiently prove that this Catechism was the first publication in the Romanth of the Grey League; although the following Pfalter by Stephen Gabriel, is usually styled the first book.

N^o 9. Pfalter by Dan. Boniface, printed at Coire 1611; reprinted 1649. 1683. 1740. 1768. The following is the title-page of the last edition. *Ilg Ver Sulaz da Pievel Juven: quei anis una curta Summa dá la Cardienstha dils Patriarchs, Prophets, ad Apostels: Item, Anzaquonts Psalms da David, a Canzuns Spiritualas: Item, Anzaquontas Uratiuns: Tras Steffan Gabriel, &c. Squitchau a Cuera. 1768.*

N^o 10. Version of the New Testament by Lucius Gabriel, printed at Balle. *Ilg Nief Testament da Niefs Senger Jesu*

Christ mess qui en Rumonsch da la Liga Grischa tras Luci Gabriel, &c. Squitchau a Basel 1648. 8vo.

N^o 11. Translation of the Bible in the Romanish of the Grey League, printed at Coire, with the following title: *La S. Biblia, quei ei, Tut la Soinchia Scartira, ne Tuts ils ludisch dilg Veder a Nief Testament cun ils Apocryphs, mess'a giuent ilg linguaig Rumonsch da la Ligia Grischa, tras anchins Survients dilg plaid da Deus dils Venerands Colloquio Sur a futt il Guault. Cum Privil. . Illustr. D. D. Rhætor. a Squitchad en Coira tras Andrea Pfeffer Stampadur. 1718. Fol. p. 1148.*

EACH of the three Leagues, which form by their union the republic of the Grisons, is divided into a certain number of districts, called in Romanish *Dratturas Magnas*, in German *Hochgerichts*; which may be translated High Jurisdctions. These districts are composed of one, two, or more small commonwealths, or Communities. As this complicated intermixture of different communities frequently creates much confusion, in the geographical and political accounts of this country, I subjoin a Table of the general division of each league into High Jurisdctions, with their subdivisions into Communities.

The Grey League is divided into eight High Jurisdictions, which are subdivided in the following manner into twenty-seven Communities.

High Jurisdictions.	I. Difentis	Communities.	1 {	Difentis	-	-	-	-	1
			2 {	Tavetch	-	-	-	-	1
	II. Valley of Lugnetz		3 & 4 {	Lugnetz	-	-	-	-	2
			5 {	Wals	-	-	-	-	1
	III. Grub		6 & 7 {	Ilantz and the neigh-	-	-	-	-	2
				bouring districts	-	-	-	-	1
			8 {	Schlowis	-	-	-	-	1
			9 {	Tenna	-	-	-	-	1
	IV. Waltenzburg		10 {	Waldensburg	-	-	-	-	1
			11 {	Lax	-	-	-	-	1
			12 {	Oberfax	-	-	-	-	1
	V. Flims		13 {	Flims	-	-	-	-	1
			14 & 15 {	Retzuns and Embs	-	-	-	-	2
			16 {	Trins and Tamins	-	-	-	-	1
	VI. Rheinwald and Schams		17 & 18 {	Valley of Rheinwald	-	-	-	-	2
			19 & 20 {	Valley of Schams	-	-	-	-	2
	VII. Heunzenberg and Tufis		21 {	Tufis and Catzis	-	-	-	-	1
			22 {	Heunzenberg	-	-	-	-	1
			23 {	Saffien	-	-	-	-	1
			24 {	Cepina	-	-	-	-	1
	VIII. Mafox		25 {	Valley of Mafox	-	-	-	-	1
			26 {	Ruffle	-	-	-	-	1
			27 {	Calanca	-	-	-	-	1

Members from the several Communities to the General Diet.

The League of God's House is divided into eleven High Jurisdictions, and comprehends twenty-one Communities.

High Jurisdictions.	I. Coire - - -	Communities.	1 { Coire - - - - -	2	Members from these several Communities to the General Diet.
	II. Pregalia -		2 { Sopra Porta - - - -	1	
			3 { Sotto Porta - - - -	1	
	III. Upper Engadina - -		4 { Sopra Fontana Merla	1	
			5 { Sotto Fontana Merla	1	
	IV. Lower Engadina - - -		6 Sopra Tasma - - - -	1	
			7 Sotto Tasma - - - -	1	
	V. Bivio or Stalla		8 { Bivio & Marmorara	1	
			9 { Avers - - - - -	1	
			10 { Remus, Schlins, and Samum - - - -	1	
	VI. Ortenstein		11 { Ortenstein - - - -	1	
			12 { Furstenau - - - -	1	
	VII. Obervats -		13 { Obervats - - - -	1	
			14 { Breguns - - - -	1	
	VIII. Oberhafstein		15 { Tinzen and Reamp	1	
			16 { Tiefen Casten - - -	1	
	IX. Puschiamo		17 & 18 { Valley of Puschiamo	2	
	X. Munster -		19 { Valley of Munster -	1	
	XI. Four Villages		20 { Sitzers, Igis, Trims	1	
			21 { Unter Vatz - - - -	1	

The League of Ten Jurisdictions is divided into seven High Jurisdictions, and comprises eleven Jurisdictions or Communities.

High Jurisdictions.	I. Davos - -	Communities.	1 { District of Davos - -	2	Members from these several Communities to the General Diet.
	II. Kloster - -		2 { Kloster - - - -	2	
	III. Castels. - -		3 { Lutsein - - - -	1	
			4 { Jenats and Furna - -	1	
	IV. Schiers - -		5 { Schiers - - - -	1	
			6 { Seewis - - - -	1	
	V. Mayenfield -		7 { Mayenfield and } Malans - - - }	2	
	VI. Belfort or Alvenew and Churwalden		8 { Alvenew - - - -	1	
			9 { Churwalden - - - -	1	
	VII. Valley of Schalfic -		10 { St. Peter, &c. - - -	1	
			11 { Longwisen - - - -	1	
				24	

Thus the Diet, including the three chiefs, consists of sixty-six voices.

L E T T E R 91.

FROM DAVID PENNANT, ESQ. TO THE AUTHOR.

*On the Italian Bailliages of Switzerland —
Journey from the Top of the St. Gothard to
Milan — The Levantine Valley — Bellinzona —
Locarno — Town and Lake of Lugano —
Lago Maggiore — Boromean Islands.*

S I R,

LITTLE is wanting to complete your description of Switzerland and its dependencies; that chasm I now endeavour to fill up. Youth and inexperience must serve as excuses for errors and omissions. Happy if this hasty sketch may excite the curiosity of yourself, or any other traveller equally intelligent, whose observations may amuse and instruct mankind. The route which I here attempt to describe, is connected with your work; a route which would afford satisfaction to the curious of all nations who take you as their guide.

The highest parts of the principal Alpine passes are usually occupied by a small plain or basin; as the St. Bernard, the Gemmi, the Splugen, and the St. Gothard. From the summit of the St. Gothard I commenced my route on the 2d of August 1786. I followed the course of the Tefino, which you mention in your letters: it passes by the Capuchin convent, and is soon after joined by two other rills from the neighbouring mountains. Near this spot the Levantine valley begins,

and Switzerland, properly so called, may be said to terminate. The descent on the side of Italy is much steeper, and the views more savage and picturesque, than in the ascent from Urseren; and the road is conducted with equal skill. The majestic scenery is heightened by the Tesino tumbling in an almost uninterrupted cataract; sometimes pent up in a narrow channel, or piercing its way through the remains of Avalanches, still unmelted though fully exposed to the rays of a meridian sun. These enormous masses obstruct the road; and workmen are continually employed in promoting their dissolution; as the aggregate of unmelted snows, for a few summers, would bar all communication between Switzerland and Italy: with such difficulty are the few passes kept open!

After descending rapidly for three miles through this scene of desolation, bounded on all sides by precipices, or impending rocks, the river foaming over blocks of granite, the ruins of the surrounding mountains; we crossed the *Ponte Tremolo*, or trembling bridge; where the view enlarged, and extended over a verdant valley sprinkled with numerous houses.

Airolo, the first small burgh, stands at the bottom of the steep descent; to the right is the passage over mount Grias to Munster in the Upper Vallais, practicable only from the middle of July to October, when 300 horses transport weekly the cheese from the various parts of Switzerland.

At Dacio we found comfortable accommodations: that village consists only of a few houses, seated at the entrance of a pass, capable of being defended with ease against the whole force of

Italy. A wall and gate is added to its natural strength, but their principal use is to prevent contraband trade, and to exact also a small toll for the merchandise which passes that way. For half a league from hence is a succession of striking and romantic scenery; the perpendicular rocks scarcely affording room for the steep road, and transparent waters of the Tesino, which, thundering over the vast fragments, rises in a white foam, and subtle mist, visible only from refracting the rays of the sun. We crossed the torrent, in that short space, over three bridges thrown from rock to rock, whose span and boldness of execution might vie with the boasted, because better known, Devil's Bridge.

Faido is the residence of the bailif, nominated by the canton of Uri. He remains in office four years, and his power is almost unlimited. Unfortunate insurrections in 1712, and in 1755, have been attended with the loss of the few remaining privileges to a people who struggled for perfect liberty.

Giornico, called by the Germans Irnis, is famous for the victory which 600 Swiss gained, in 1478, over the troops of the duke of Milan, amounting to 15,000 men; a victory which ensured to the Swiss an honorable and advantageous peace. In this neighbourhood we first perceived the effects of a southern sun, and a lesser elevation above the sea, by the frequent appearance of vineyards, and the walnut and chesnut-trees of a very large size; the girth of several among the latter was not less than thirty feet. At Polegio, this bailliage ends.

The Levantine Valley, or *Valle Leventina*, is supposed to retain, by its name, traces of the *Le-pontii*, the ancient inhabitants of the surrounding regions. Its length, counting from the summit of the passage on the St. Gothard, is about eight leagues: the breadth very inconsiderable. The lower part is extremely populous, rich in pasturage, and produces much hemp and flax. In the neighbourhood of such lofty mountains, its climate must be variable, and liable to frequent rains. In order to prevent these rains from damaging their crops, the inhabitants suspend and dry the corn and grass on several bars supported by two high poles about fifteen feet asunder. The houses are entirely of wood, and have externally the appearance of Swiss cottages; but a neglect of cleanliness proves the vicinity and greater similarity to the Italians. The Tesino is here joined by the Bormio, a torrent which takes its rise in mount Uccello, or the Vogelsberg, near Splugen; a bridge over it is the boundary of the two bailiages of the valleys Levantine and Polese, and leads into that of Riviera. The valley now becomes perfectly flat, and of course subject to violent inundations; the few villages are scattered on the sides of the steep mountains; below all is desolate. Ossogna, the residence of the bailif, consists only of a few houses. The country soon improved; the ground rose gently from the bed of the river, when we came in sight of the beautiful town of Bellinzone, situated in a delightful plain, encircled with ancient walls and battlements in good repair: to the right, rise majestically the ruins of an ancient castle; to the left, separately embosomed in trees, are the castles of
the

the bailifs of the three regent cantons, Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden.

About the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Swifs, at peace with the Houfe of Auftria, feem firft to have been ftimulated with the ambition of extending their dominions towards the fouth. In 1410, the whole Helvetic body, excepting the canton of Berne, paffed their natural barriers, plundered the town of Domo d'Ofcella, and the adjacent country, and returned laden with fpoil to pafs the winter in their humble cottages. Elevated by fuccefs, the enfuing fummer faw them again defcend into the plains of Italy, and ravage the duchy of Milan, then fubject to the Viscontis. They again retired, but without attempting to make a fettlement. Bent on thefe enterprifes, we are not furprifed, that, in 1422, the three original cantons purchafed the town of Bellinzone from its owners the counts of Sax; or that Philip Maria, duke of Milan, exerted himfelf to prevent from falling into their hands a town fo important, from its fituation and natural ftrength, to check their inroads, and cover his dominions. Having therefore taken poffeffion of it by force of arms; a body of 8000 Swifs paffed the Alps. The forces of both nations met; the Italians were led on by Carmagnola; a bloody battle enfued, of which both fides claimed the victory; the Swifs retired with a ftandard taken from the enemy, who remained mafters of the town.

Excepting fome inroads, nothing of importance was again tranfacted to the fouth till the year 1466, when Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the new duke of Milan, formed an alliance with his tranfalpine neighbours; the firft article was the ceffion of the

Levantine Valley to the canton of Uri, for which he was annually to receive three hawks and a cross-bow. Yet ten years after, when Charles duke of Burgundy threatened the total destruction of the republic by his powerful invasions, the treacherous duke of Milan sent a body of troops to his assistance, who were intercepted in the Vallais and worsted. On the defeat and death of Charles at the battle of Nancy, they again resolved to make an attempt on Bellinzona; but as the season was too far advanced to undertake the siege, a body of 600 Swiss resolved to winter at Giornico. The duke collected an army of 15,000 men, and attacked them in their intrenchments, but was repulsed with the loss of 1400 of his best troops. The mountaineers were enriched with the spoils; but no regular attack was made on the object of their invasion.

From this period the wars in which the Swiss engaged no ways concerned themselves: they sacrificed their blood in foreign quarrels, and the contending parties made use of their superior valor to attempt or establish conquests in Italy. In 1500 the three cantons obtained what they had so long contended for. The inhabitants of Bellinzona, vexed by the frequent changes in the Milanese, voluntarily surrendered to them. The French, when they had conquered the duchy, in vain reclaimed it; the Swiss retained possession; and the seven Italian bailliages were formally ceded to them by Maximilian Sforza, in gratitude for their having reinstated him in the ducal seat. Courted or feared by all parties, those valuable territories were confirmed to them by the French, and finally by the House of Austria.

The bailif remains in office two years; he is nominated reciprocally by the three cantons, and is generally removed from Riviera the poorest, to Bellinzone the most lucrative of the three governments. An appeal lies from his decision to the syndicate, and from that court to the three cantons. In ecclesiastical affairs, the inhabitants are cognizable to the bishop of Como, excepting three parishes. Most of the natives understand Italian, but the language is a corrupt German.

The interior of Bellinzone by no means corresponds with its external beauty and situation; the streets are narrow, and the houses ill built. We continued our journey south on the banks of the Tesino, which we crossed in a bad ferry; that river is here increased to a very considerable size, by the numerous additions it has received in its course, particularly by the Musa, a torrent which takes its rise in the St. Bernardin, and flowing down the Val Masox, form a junction above Bellinzone. The valley is level, and laid waste by numerous torrents: the road runs along the sides of the hills through continued vineyards. We proceeded at the foot of the western chain of hills; a similar ridge bounds the view to the East, both clothed to their summits with woods of chestnut and walnut-trees, half concealing frequent spires and numerous hamlets. Before us the view extended to a part of the Milanese over the lake of Locarno, or Lago Maggiore. Having reached its north-western extremity, we coasted its banks for two or three miles; and arrived at the town from which it derives its name.

Locarno contains about 1500 inhabitants, Part of the town is built on piazzas in form of a crescent

with two wings; in front is a row of trees, and the public walk; the old part of the town is dirty, and the streets narrow. It contains three convents, and a small Franciscan monastery, perched on a rock overhanging the valley, and commanding a superb view of the lake, and its magnificent boundaries. The canopy, in the church of the Capuchins, deserves to be mentioned for its beautiful execution: it is of straw-work, and almost rivals velvet and gold fringe.

Of the four transalpine bailliages which belong to the twelve cantons, Lugano holds the principal rank; Locarno the second. The governor or commissary, as he is called, is sent in succession by all the cantons except Appenzel; he remains in office two years; in criminal affairs his decision is absolute, in civil an appeal lies to the annual syndicate from the regent cantons, and from thence to the Helvetic body assembled at the diet. The emoluments of this post are not great; but the profits unfortunately depend too much on the virtue of the man, as they arise principally from fines exacted for criminal offences. The people enjoy some privileges, and hold an annual assembly in the month of January, in which they elect twenty counsellors; twelve out of the town, three from Ascona, the remainder from the country at large. These counsellors have the charge of watching over the interests of the republic, as far as does not interfere with the superior powers, of settling the public expenses, and of raising the supplies paid to the governor. These bailliages do not raise corn sufficient for their domestic consumption; that grain is furnished by treaty from the duchy of Milan, and is weekly imported from

Livino, a village on the opposite shore. The chief food of the peasants is a cake made with maize and millet: the inhabitants on the banks of the lake are well supplied with fish.

The fisheries give employment to a great number of hands, although they are in some degree subject to monopolies. In the months of May and June, from 200 to 250lb. weight are taken in a day; trout of 40lb. and perch of 9lb. are found in the lake.

In 1555, the doctrines of the reformation had made considerable progress in these parts: but the Catholic cantons, at the general diet, obtained an edict, that those who refused to return to the ancient faith should quit the town and province. Numbers, thus driven from their native country, were received with open arms by the canton of Zurich, which was benefited by their industry, and owes to them the introduction of their silk manufactures.

Locarno once was situated on the lake, and had a port capable of receiving large barks: at present it stands at the distance of a quarter of a mile; a circumstance owing to the accumulation of sand brought down by the torrent Maggia.

The little voyage from hence to Magadino is delightful: we crossed the upper part of the lake in an hour; the banks of this noble piece of water rise boldly, and are well wooded; Locarno forms a fine object, to the south of it is the opening into the Val Maggia, terminated by mountains covered with eternal snow. The spot where we landed consists only of a few scattered houses, for the purpose of receiving the merchandize, which is put on shore and sent on horses to

Bellinzone. Old Magadino is more inland, and owed its origin to the vicinity of the lake, the retiring of which has caused its ruin: from thence the road winds up the steep sides of the mountain Cenero, through woods of walnut and chestnut-trees, interspersed with oak and holly; on the summit of the passage is a small oval plain, the boundary of the bailliages of Locarno and Lugano. Our descent lay between the hills, through luxuriant and verdant vallies, peopled with numerous villages, and rich in every production. The vines, laden with fruit, are conducted in elegant festoons from tree to tree; a constant variety of scenery, softened by the glow of a setting sun, and next silvered by the moon glimmering on the distant lake, heightened the charms of our journey through this Elysian country.

The situation of Lugano is delightful: it is built round the gentle curve of a bay, and backed by a fine succession of hills, rising in gentle swells to a considerable height: in front, a bold mountain clothed with forest projects into the lake, of which a noble branch extends to its right and left. To that spot boats of every size are continually passing and repassing, its base being perforated with *cantine*, or caverns, to which the inhabitants send their meat, and all sorts of provision, where it is kept untainted for seven or eight days, and the wine preserved with a delicious coolness. Enjoying the advantages of a southern climate, it has few of its inconveniences, the heats are moderated by the surrounding hills and the cool breezes from the lake. It is no less sheltered from the Alpine blasts, which, chilled by the neighbouring snows, would otherwise descend

with violence, and destroy the temperature of this equal climate. Olive, almond, and all the southern fruits, ripen here to perfection.

Lugano is the emporium of the greatest part of the merchandize which passes from Italy over the St. Gothard, or the Bernardin. At the end of autumn, the Swiss mountaineers bring down numerous herds of cattle for sale; and return with less bulky commodities. The town contains about 8000 inhabitants. Most of the houses are built of tuf-stone: the residence of the *capitano*, or governor, is a low building; on the walls are the arms of the twelve regent cantons. On an eminence above the town, stands the principal church, remarkable only for the beautiful carving in stone round the doors, and rose window, and for the delicious prospect from its terrace. In the cloisters of the Recollets is a capital picture attributed to Luvino: their church is handsome, and the skreen is ornamented with the painting of the Passion by the same master. The palace of the Marquis de Riva contains a few good pictures.

We then embarked upon the lake of Lugano⁴, which is about twenty-five miles in length, and from two to four in breadth; its form is irregular, and bending into continued sinuosities. The town forms a fine object, backed by the amphitheatre of hills; the banks on each side bordered with a succession of gardens and villas. After being rowed to see the noble branch pointing

⁴ The lake of Lugano is about 190 feet perpendicular higher than the lake of Como and Lago Maggiore. The two last-mentioned lakes are of the same level, and about 240 feet higher than the city of Milan. *Veri storia di Milano*, p. 5. *Abb. Frisi Dei Canali Navig. di Lombardia*. 4to. p. 465.

northward, we crossed to the Cantine, and continued our voyage under the precipitous rocks, whose bases are lost in the depths of the lake. We landed at Porto, a small village in the duchy of Milan, situated at its southern extremity.

From this point, an arm of the lake points northward, and discharges itself into the Lago Maggiore, by means of the river Trisa. It is scarcely possible to imagine a more perfect or greater variety of beauties than this noble piece of water affords; the vast over-hanging woods, the bold precipices, the transparency of the water, unite to form a scenery in the highest degree luxuriant.

From Porto the traveller may observe, with satisfaction mingled with compassion, the strong contrasts effected by the influence of a free and of an arbitrary government: the borders of the lake subject to Switzerland studded with a succession of villages, houses, and gardens; this part of the Milanese desolate, and almost unpeopled.

On leaving that village, the hills begin to diminish, and in the course of three miles are totally lost in the rich plain of Lombardy. Varese is entirely composed of the seats of the Milanese nobility. The principal palazzo is the residence of the dutchess dowager of Modena; the gardens are laid out in the old taste, the artificial mount commands a fine view over a rich flat country, a small lake, and bounded by the long chain of Alps. In the magnificent saloon are some tolerable portraits of the families of Modena and Austria. The emperor, as duke of Milan, has exerted himself in the suppression of convents; a rich Franciscan monastery has fallen a sacrifice to his plans of reformation.

The road from hence to Laveno, a small burgh on the Lago Maggiore, is varied, and the country very rich; to the right, on an eminence, is San Sacramento; to the left we passed near some lesser lakes. From Laveno we were rowed across the delightful passage to Isola Bella, one of the famous enchanted islands so particularly described, and with such pleasure, by Bishop Burnet and Keyser; the latter can compare it to nothing but "*a pyramid of sweetmeats, ornamented with green festoons and flowers.*" But as the taste of mankind alters with the succession of years, I therefore considered it only as a monument of expense and folly: terrace rises above terrace in regular gradations, bordered with flower-pots, or gigantic statues of horses, gods, and goddesses. The whole is raised upon arches; and the soil has been brought from the shore to cover them. The palace is magnificent, and contains a profusion of marbles and paintings: the lower part of the house overhangs the lake on one side; where several apartments are furnished in the style of grottos; the floors, pillars, and walls, are inlaid with various-colored stones, marbles, and shells; the view and the coolness united make this part a delicious summer retreat.

If any thing justly gives this island the appellation of enchanted, it is the prospect from the terrace. The gradual diminution of the mountains from the regions of eternal snow to the rich plain, the sinuosity of the lake, its varied banks, the bay of Marzozzo bounded by vast hills, the neighbouring burgh of Palanza, and more distant view of Laveno, the numerous villages, the Isola Madre, on which is a palace of the Borromean

family, and another island sprinkled with fishermen's huts, form a delightful assemblage. These islands, and the whole western coast of the lake to the bailliage of Locarno, was ceded to the king of Sardinia, by the late empress queen, at the treaty of Worms, in consideration of the assistance which she had received from that monarch.

We re-entered our boat, troubled by the importunities of the beggars, whose miserable huts adjoining to the palace disgrace the island. Belgeritta is a neat village, containing some excellent houses, and a handsome church. From thence we continued our voyage down the lake. The tract of country to our right, from near Palanza to ten miles south of Arona, pays a small contribution to the Borromean family for seignorial rights. That family receives a toll for the merchandize which passes, grants the privilege of fishing, and appoints eleven judges in the respective villages; but an appeal lies from their decision to a superior, nominated by the king of Sardinia, and resident at Palanza, and again to Turin. The riches of this opulent house are now increasing from the product of the gold mines, which lie amongst the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, thirty miles from Margozzo. Above Arona is a seminary for forty boys, founded by San Carlo Borromeo; near it is the colossal statue of that saint, sixty feet in height, placed on a pedestal of just proportions. He is represented in his cardinal's habit; the right hand extended, a book under the left arm. The statue is of bronze, was cast at Milan, and brought in separate pieces. San Carlo, nephew to Pope Pius the Fourth, was born near this spot; he passed with early

credit through his studies, and the dignities of the church; was made a cardinal, and archbishop of Milan. His charity and pious exertions, during the plague which ravaged his diocese, the subject of so many fine pictures at Milan, ensure him more general renown than his canonization in 1610.

Arona is a small town, with a neat port; above it rises a ruined castle, which, in the earlier part of the Milanese history, seems to have been considered as a place of the utmost importance; at the period when the great contests arose between the families of Visconti and Torriani, this castle was the perpetual object of capture and reprisal. Otho Visconti, the archbishop, who at length gained the ascendancy, was twice repulsed and driven from hence. Two promontories project into the lake at this spot; the eastern is crowned with the castle of Anghiera, which gives name to this valuable province, which in 1397, to gratify Galeazzo, the second duke of Milan, was erected into a county by the emperor Wenceslaus, and has since been transferred to the king of Sardinia. On doubling the promontory of Arona, the lake again enlarges, and forms a bay; the banks are very low. Soon after entering the Tesino we landed at the dirty village of Sello; hired another boat, and were hurried with great rapidity down that river, between high banks of gravel, to the commencement of the *Naviglio Grande*, the great canal which forms the junction between the Po and the Adda, calculated not less for conveying merchandize and wood to Milan, than for benefiting the neighbouring country with partial inundations, and for the purpose of laying the rice fields under water. Its breadth at first

is great; but narrows as we advance, and the stream becomes almost a dead water ⁵.

If bad weather and other circumstances had not prevented me from extending my tour, I had purposed visiting the bay of Margozzo, Domo, d'Oscella, Varallo, and the gold mines in its neighbourhood; an excursion, which, from the reports I have heard, could no fail of affording the highest satisfaction to the naturalist, and the lover of nature in her great features.

⁵ According to the Abbé Frisi, the length of the Naviglio is 86,000 braccia, or 14 Italian miles (60 to a degree); its breadth at the entrance 70, which gradually diminishes to 20; and the perpendicular height of the fall of water is 58; at first 5 braccia per mile, gradually decreasing for the first twelve miles, until it is no more than one braccio in a mile; then increasing for the five next miles to a little more than five braccia in a mile. — See *Canal. Navig. di Lomb. C. 1.* A Milanese braccio is to an English foot nearly as 22. to 11. without considering a small fraction.

A P P E N D I X.

N^o. 1.

THE following table exhibits the present order of the thirteen cantons, and the era of their reception into the Helvetic confederacy.

The eight ancient cantons.	{	Zuric	-	-	-	-	Reformed religion	1350
		Berne	-	-	-	-	Reformed	1352
		Lucerne	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1332
		Uri	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1315
		Schweitz	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1315
		Underwalden	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1315
		Zug	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1352
		Glaris	-	-	-	-	Mixed	1351
The five new cantons.	{	Basse	-	-	-	-	Reformed	1501
		Friburgh	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1481
		Soleure	-	-	-	-	Catholic	1481
		Schaffhausen	-	-	-	-	Reformed	1501
		Appenzel	-	-	-	-	Mixed	1513

MAPS OF SWITZERLAND.

OF the many maps of Switzerland none but those published lately can be looked upon as correct. The natural state of this country, the variety of the mountains that cover its surface, and whose tops are inaccessible; the numberless lakes, rivers and torrents by which it is intersected; and the jealousy of its different governments have always rendered an accurate survey of it impossible, and disappointed the constant endeavours of many ingenious persons, until general *Pfiffer* succeeded in his attempt to lay down in his model an accurate topographical representation of some cantons. This plan has been enlarged by Mr. *Meyer* of Arau who, animated by a patriotic zeal, engaged and associated several able surveyors, and after twenty years unremitting labor formed on a large scale a bass-relief, which will ever be one of the greatest curiosities in Switzerland. From this bass-relief, Mr. *Weiss*, geographer to the army of the Rhine, who had surveyed and directed the whole work, delineated the

Atlas de la Suisse en 16 feuilles.

The most accurate map of Switzerland; the ten sheets that have been published of it are neatly engraved. The slowness of the publication induced Mr. *Weiss* to reduce the sixteen sheets of his atlas to one, and to publish it under the following title:

Carte hydrographique & routière de la Suisse, par le citoyen WEISS, Ingénieur géographe de l'état-major-général de l'armée du Rhin.

This is the first map of Switzerland that has been laid down from trigonometrical measurements and astronomical observations. As the exactness of the survey of the lakes, and the accuracy with which the direction of the mountains and the

course of the rivers are marked, render it more valuable than most of the preceding maps, of which the greater part are but imperfect compilations, the editors have thought proper to substitute it in the room of that which accompanies the London edition of these travels, and which at the time of its publication was one of the best.

The principal general maps of Switzerland have been published in the following order.

Nova Rætiae atque totius Helvetiæ descriptio per AEGID. TSCHUDIUM, Glaronensem. 1560. 4 sheets. One of the oldest maps and very scarce.

Nova Helvetiæ tabula geographica a J. J. SCHEUCHZERO, 1721. & 1765. 4 sheets. This map has been laid down from the author's actual observations; the north-eastern part of Switzerland is very accurate; but its western parts, the cantons of Berne and Basle, are very faulty. It has been copied and republished several times.

Carte de la Suisse dressée sur les mémoires de Mr. MERVEILLEUX, par GUILLAUME DE L'ISLE. 1715. 1 sheet. Reduced from Scheuchzer's map; it is one of the best maps of Switzerland.

Helvetia, &c. delineata per Dr. TOB. MAYER. Norimb. 1751. apud Homan. hared.

Carte de la Suisse par FRANÇOIS GRASSET, 1769. Neat and distinct, but incorrect.

L'Heureux pays uni des XIII. cantons Suisses, &c. par J. W. JAEGER, Francfort sur le Meyn. 1775. 6 whole sheets and 3 half sheets.

This was the largest map of Switzerland before Messrs. Meyer and Weis published theirs. It is very imperfect.

Map of Switzerland, marked with the routes of four tours made in the years 1776. 1779. 1785 and 1786. by W. COXE. London. 1 sheet.

Of this map which embellishes the London edition of this work, Mr. Coxe says: "I used my utmost endeavours to render the general Map of Switzerland, which accompanies this work as complete as possible; and as there was no accurate

delineation of the whole country yet given to the public, I collected the best maps of the various parts of Switzerland, which I was able to procure. From these authorities, Messrs. Palmer and Baker compiled the present engraving, and to their merit the public is indebted for, what I hope will be deemed, the best general map of Switzerland yet extant." He praises it deservedly, as it is free from the numberless faults and incorrections of which former maps are full. The progress that has been made in the geography of this country since the publication of this map has induced the editors to substitute in its room that of Mr. Weifs, which contains the latest and most considerable improvements. Mr. Coxe's map has been copied for the French translation of his travels. It has also been republished at Weimar, by the Industrie Comptoir, under the title of

Carte de la Suisse, où l'on a marqué les routes suivies par Mr. W. COXE.

Atlas novus reipublicæ Helveticæ XX. mappis compositus, sumptibus Homan. hæred. Norimberg. 1769. Several sheets of this collection have been drawn by GABRIEL WALSER, and some of them may still be consulted with advantage, such as those of Zurich, Berne, Uri, Appenzel, the Grisons by WALSER, and that of Thurgau by RIZZI ZANONI.

Carte des principales routes de la Suisse, où l'on a marqué les distances d'un endroit à l'autre. Berne, 1795.

This is a mere sketch; but, by the exactness with which the distance between different places is marked, very useful to such travellers as follow only the great roads.

Carte de la Suisse, suivant sa nouvelle division en XVIII. cantons, formant la république Helvétique, dressée par H. MALLET, Ingénieur géographe. 1798. 2 sheets. This is one of the best maps, but wretchedly engraved.

Carte de la Suisse par CH. DE MECHEL. 1799. one sheet.

This map is neatly engraved; and, being laid down from the observations of different travellers, chiefly of Messrs. Haas, father and son in Basle, is the best after that of Mr. Weifs.

The best maps of particular cantons and parts of Switzerland are the following:

Eigentliche Verzeichniss der Städte, Grafschaften und Herrschaften, welche in der Stadt Zürich Gebiet und Landschaft gehörig sind, durch JOHANN MURER, Burger zu Zürich A°. 1566. gerissen. 6 sheets.

This very interesting map is cut in wood, and has been republished in 1670 and 1759. A delineation of this canton on a large scale, by JOHANN CONRAD and JOHANN GEORG GEIGER, is preserved in the public library at Zurich.

Inclitæ Bernatum urbis cum omni ditionis suæ agro & provinciis delineatio chorographica, secundum cujusque loci longitudinem & latitudinem cæli, authore THOM. SCHEPSIO, Bris. Doct. Med. Bernæ Niutunum, pingebant & excisis typis aeneis exsculpebant MARTINUS KRUMM, Bernensis, & JOH. MARTIN, Daventriensis, adjuvante ADELB. SAURACKER, cive Basil. 1578. 18 sheets.

This is the largest and most accurate map of the canton of Berne; it is extremely scarce, as also the republication of it in 1672, the plates having been melted down.

Carte topographique de la grande route de Berne à Genève, par PIERRE BEL, 1783 26 sheets.

This map is tolerably accurate, but the engraving very ordinary.

Carte de la Suisse Romande qui comprend le Pays de Vaud & le Gouvernement d'Aigle, dépendant du canton de Berne, divisés en leurs Bailliages, où l'on a distingué ceux qui appartiennent au canton de Fribourg & ceux qui sont possédés en commun par ces deux Républiques, ainsi que les étals & pays adjacents. Levée géométriquement, sous la permission du

Souverain. Par le S. H. MALLET, Ingénieur-géographe. 1781.
4 sheets. A most excellent and correct map.

Geographische Tabelle der beyden Entlibucher Aempter Schupfheim und Eschlismatt, von J. X. SCHNYDER. 1780.

Carte en perspective du nord au midi d'après le plan en relief & les mesures du général Pfiffer. réduit sous son inspection à 150 toises de France par ligne, par Jos. CLAUSNER, graveur à Zug, republiée par CH. DE MECHEL. 1799.

Canton Basel. DAN. BRUCKNER autor. EMANUEL BUCHEL delineavit. Gravé à Basle par AUVRAY, sous les soins de Mr. de MECHEL. 1766.

A neat and excellent map, but very scarce.

Schaffhauser Gebiet samt den Gränzen und umliegenden Orten, in Grund gelegt durch HEINRICH PEYER, und gestochen von F. MEYER von Winterthur. 1685. 4 sheets.

Nouvelle carte du pays des Grisons avec ses dépendances, la Valteline, les comtés de Chiavenna & Bormio, dressée sous les observations de THOMAS CLUVERE & les corrections du colonel SCHMIDT, à la Haie, chez Hudson.

Rhætia fœderata, &c. J. VON LUGHENBURG del. & sculps.

Mr. Core says, that during his travels through the Grisons he found this map tolerably correct. It is however much inferior to that of *Walser*, in the *Atlas novus Norimberg.* which till now has been esteemed the best map of Rhætia. Mr. de Mechel in Basle is actually engraving a new one from the observations with which he has been furnished by some French officers.

Die Landschaft Toggenburg, gezeichnet von J. J. SCHEUCHZER. 1717. J. HEINR. HUBER, Tigur. sculpsit.

This map has been republished by Covens & Mortier.

Special-Carte des Rheinthals von JOH. FEER.

This is a very fine and accurate map; it has been reduced and republished at Weimar, with the principal triangles that served to the delineation of it.

Carte de l'ancien évêché de Basle.

This map upon which the limits between the bishopric of Basle as a state of the empire and such of its districts as are in alliance with the Swiss (Helvetic comburgherships) are marked, was published at the time when this object was discussed between the French government and the Swiss Republic.

Carte des environs de Genève, comprenant le territoire de cette république & les frontières de France, de Savoie & de Suisse, entre lesquelles elle est située, dressée par HENRY MALLET, citoyen de Genève, 1776.

Neat and correct.

Carte de la souveraineté de Neuschatel & Valengin, dressée sur les mémoires du S. D. F. DE MERVEILLEUX, rectifiée par les observations de l'académie royale des sciences, par GUILL. DE L'ISLE. 1720.

Republished at Amsterdam by Covens & Mortier; and in 1745. by Buache.

N^o. 3.

ITINERARIES of four tours through Switzerland, in 1776, 1779, 1785, and 1786; with the distances marked in leagues and English miles. It may be necessary to apprize the traveller, that although I spared no pains in order to ascertain the respective distances, yet in many places, and particularly in the mountainous districts, it was impossible to obtain that degree of accuracy which I could have desired. For in those parts, the distances being not measured, can only be conjectured from the time employed in traversing them.

Dates.	TOUR in 1776.	Distances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
JULY	<i>ENTERED</i> Switzerland		
	from STRASBURGH		
20.	and Doneschingen		
21.	at SCHAFFHAUSEN — — —		
	Lauffen — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	to the Cataract — — —		
	SCHAFFHAUSEN — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
23.	Dieffenhoffen — — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Stein — — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to the Isle of		
	Reichenau — — —	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{3}{4}$
	CONSTANCE — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
24.	I. of Meinau — — —	5	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
	CONSTANCE — — —	5	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Roshach — — —	9	30
	by land to		
25.	ST. GALLEN — — —	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	7
	Tuffen — — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
26.	Appenzel — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Oberried — — —	3	10

Dates.				Distances.	
				Leagues.	Miles.
JULY					
27.	Saletz	—	—	3	10
	Werdenberg	—	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Trivabach	—	—	3	10
	Sargans	—	—	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
28.	Wallenstadt	—	—	3	10
	by water to				
	Wesen	—	—	4	13
	by land to				
29.	GLARIS	—	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Schwanden	—	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	to the Panten-Bruck	—	—	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
30.	GLARIS	—	—	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	14
	Bilten	—	—	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Sibnen	—	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
31.	Einsidlin	—	—	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	14
AUG. 1.	Rapperschwyl	—	—	4	13
	by water to				
2.	ZURIC	—	—	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	25
	by land to				
4.	Albis	—	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Cappel	—	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	ZUG	—	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	by water to				
	Immenfee	—	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	by land to				
	Kuffnacht	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to				
5.	LUCERNE	—	—	3	10
	Fluelen	—	—	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	28
	by land to				
7.	ALTORF	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Am Steg	—	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
8.	Wafen	—	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Devil's Bridge	—	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
9.	to Spital on St. Gothard	—	—	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Hospital	—	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Realp	—	—	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	over the Furca	—	—		

Dates.				Distances.	
				Leagues.	Miles.
AUGUST					
		Obergestelen	—	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{3}{4}$
10.		Munster	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Obergestelen	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
11.		Spital on the Grimsel	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Handeck	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
12.		Meyringen	—	4	13
13.		Grindelwald	—	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{3}{4}$
14.		Lauterbrunnen	—	3	10
		Leifingen	—	3	10
		Aeschi	—	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
16.		Frutigen	—	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Kandersteg	—	3	10
		Winteregg	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	over	the Gemmi	—		
17.		Baths of Leuk	—	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	12 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Leuk	—	3	10
		Siders	—	3	10
		St. Leonard	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
19.		SION	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Ridda	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Martigny	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
20.		St. Maurice	—	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	to	Bex	—	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Martigny	—	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
22.		Trient	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Valorfine	—	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
23.		the Priory in the	—		
		Valley of Chamouny	—	3	10
		Salenche	—	4	13
25.		Cluse	—	3	10
		Bonneville	—	3	10
		Arthas	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Chene	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
26.		GENEVA	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Versoi	—	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
SEPT.		Copet	—	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1.		Craffi	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5

Dates.			Distances.	
			Leagues.	Miles.
SEPT.				
		Nyon — — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
		Rolle — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Morges — — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
2.		LAUSANNE — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Lutri — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Cuilli — — —	$\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Vevay — — —	2	6
		LAUSANNE — — —	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	12 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Coffonex — — —	3	10
6.		Abbaye — — —	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Romain-motier — — —	3	10
		Orbe — — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
8.		Yverdun — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		to Clendy — — —	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
		Granfon — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		St. Aubin — — —	3	10
		Boudri — — —	1 $\frac{3}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
9.		NEUFCHATEL — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Vallengin — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Chaux de Fond — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
10.		Locle — — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
11.		NEUFCHATEL — — —	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Thielle — — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
		Anet — — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Walperschwyl — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Morat — — —	4	13
13.		Avenches — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
14.		FRIBURGH — — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
		Neunec — — —	3	10
15.		BERNE — — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
		Worb — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Signau — — —	3	10
18.		to Langenau — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
20.		BERNE — — —	6	20
		Riederen — — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
		Gimmenen — — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
		Morat — — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Avenches — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5

Dates.				Distances.	
				Leagues.	Miles.
SEPT.					
21.		Payerne	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Marnaz	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Moudon	—	2 $\frac{5}{8}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Montpreveires	—	2 $\frac{3}{8}$	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
22.		LAUSANNE	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Morges	—	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Rolle	—	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
		Nyon	—	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
23.		Craffi	—	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
		Copet	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Genthod	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
24.		GENEVA	—	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{8}$
		to AVIGNON.	Returned to		
OCT. 21.		GENEVA	—		
		Copet	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Craffi	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
23.		Nyon	—	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
		Rolle	—	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Morges	—	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
		LAUSANNE	—	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Echalens	—	2 $\frac{7}{8}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
24.		Yverdun	—	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Granfon	—	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		St. Aubin	—	3	10
		Boudri	—	1 $\frac{3}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
25.		NEUFCHATEL	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		St. Blaise	—	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Neuville	—	1 $\frac{7}{8}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
26.		BIENNE	—	3	10
		Grenche	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
27.		SOLEURE	—	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Wietlisbach	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Balstal	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Waldenburgh	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Lichstal	—	2 $\frac{7}{8}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
		to Augst	—	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
29.		BASLE	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dates.		TOUR in 1779.	Distances.	
			Leagues.	Miles.
JULY		ENTERED Switzerland		
		from MILAN,		
		Como — — —	8	26
		Mendrisio — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Como — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		by water to		
		Pliniana — — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
19.		Clarice — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Domasia — — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
		Colico — — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
		by land to		
		Fort Fuentes — — —	$\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
		by water to		
		Riva — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		by land to		
20.		Chiavenna — — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Bondo — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Casaccia — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
		to Siglio — — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
31.		to St. Morezzo — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Selva Piana — — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Julian Columns — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
		to Bivio — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		St. Morezzo — — —	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
AUGUST.		Bevers — — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
1.		Zutz — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
2.		Scampf — — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
4.		Cernetz — — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
		Lavin — — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
		Ardetz — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
5.		Scuol — — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Remus — — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
		Nauders — — —	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
6.		Craun — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Lat — — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		St. Maria — — —	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	7

Dates.			Distances	
			Leagues.	Miles.
AUGUST		over the Bralio		
7.		Bormio —	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{3}{4}$
		Sondalo —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Tirano —	3	10
		Teglio —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
		Sondrio —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
		P. St. Pietro —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Morbegno —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		to Dalebio —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
		Morbegno —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
		Sondrio —	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	14
		Chiesa —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
		Casauca —	5	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
SEPT.		Bondo —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
17.		Chiavenna —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Isola —	3	10
18.		Splugen —	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	11
		Andeer —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
19.		Tufis —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Reichenau —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
20.		COIRE —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
		to Haldenstein —	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	2
		COIRE —	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	2
		Churwalden —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
		Fatszerol —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
24.		Alvenew —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
		An der Wiesen —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Glaris —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
25.		Davos —	1 $\frac{3}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Laret —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Kublis —	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Schiers —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
26.		Malans —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Pfeffers —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		to the Baths —	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Pfeffers —	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Zitzers —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
27.		COIRE —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Reichenau —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$

Dates.				Distances.	
				Leagues.	Miles.
SEPT.					
		Trins	— — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Ilantz	— — —	3	10
28.		Truns	— — —	2 $\frac{7}{8}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
29.		Disentis	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Ciamut	— — —	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
30.		Urseren	— — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
		Wafen	— — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
OCT.		Am Steg	— — —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1.		ALTORF	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Fluelen	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
		by water to			
		Brunnen	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		by land to			
		SCHWEITZ	— — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Brunnen	— — —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		by water to			
2.		Gerisau	— — —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
		Buochs	— — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
		by land to			
		STANTZ	— — —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4
		Stantzstad	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
		by water to			
3.		LUCERNE	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		by land to			
		Honau	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Knonau	— — —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
		Albis	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
4.		ZURIC	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Basserstorf	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Winterthur	— — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
5.		to Frauenfield	— — —	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
6.		ZURIC	— — —	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	24
		Dieticon	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
		BADEN	— — —	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	7
		Königsfelden	— — —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
		to the Baths of Schintznach		1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Hapsburgh	— — —	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
		Bruck	— — —	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dates.				Distances.	
				Leagues.	Miles.
Oct.					
	Stille	—	—	$\frac{7}{8}$	$2\frac{3}{4}$
	Klingnau	—	—	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
7.	Waldshut	—	—	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$

TOUR in 1785.

JULY	ENTERED Switzerland				
	from MUNICH,				
18.	at SCHAFFHAUSEN	—	—		
19.	to the Cataract at Lauffen	—	—	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	SCHAFFHAUSEN	—	—	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	Lotstetten	—	—	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Eglisau	—	—	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	Bulach	—	—	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
	Kloten	—	—	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
20.	ZURIC	—	—	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
	Meile	—	—	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to				
	Weddenschweil	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	by land to				
24.	Richliswich	—	—	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	by water to				
	I. of Ufnau	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Rapperschwyl	—	—	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	by land to				
	Grunengen	—	—	$2\frac{7}{8}$	$9\frac{1}{2}$
25.	Ustar	—	—	$2\frac{7}{8}$	$9\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to				
	Falanden	—	—	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	by land to				
26.	ZURIC	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5

Dates.				Distances.	
				Leagues.	Miles.
JULY					
	Regensburg	—	—	3	10
	to the top of the	—	—		
	Lagerberg	—	—	1	3 ¹ / ₄
AUG. 2.	Zuric	—	—	4	13
	by water to				
	BADEN	—	—	4	13
	by land to				
	Windish	—	—	1 ¹ / ₂	5
	Königsfelden	—	—	1 ¹ / ₄	3 ³ / ₄
	to the Baths of Schintznach	—	—	1	3 ¹ / ₄
	Hapsburg	—	—	1 ¹ / ₄	3 ³ / ₄
4.	Bruck	—	—	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂
	by water to				
	Lauffenburg	—	—	8	26
5.	BASLE	—	—	6 ³ / ₄	21 ¹ / ₂
6.	to STRASBURG.	—	Return-		
	ed to	—	—		
12.	BASLE	—	—		
	by land to				
	Arlesheim	—	—	1 ¹ / ₂	5
	BASLE	—	—	1 ¹ / ₂	5
	Reinach	—	—	1 ¹ / ₂	5
	Grellingen	—	—	1	3 ¹ / ₄
	Lauffen	—	—	1 ¹ / ₂	5
	Delmont	—	—	3	10
	Corrandelin	—	—	1	3 ¹ / ₄
	Munster	—	—	1 ¹ / ₂	5
15.	Molleray	—	—	2 ¹ / ₂	8 ¹ / ₄
	Pierre Pertuis	—	—	1	5 ¹ / ₄
	Reuchnete	—	—	2	6 ¹ / ₂
	BIENNE	—	—	2	6 ¹ / ₂
	Grenche	—	—	2 ¹ / ₈	7
16.	SOLEURE	—	—	2 ¹ / ₂	8 ¹ / ₄
	Kilchberg	—	—	2 ³ / ₄	9
	Hindelbank	—	—	1 ¹ / ₄	4
18.	BERNE	—	—	2 ³ / ₄	9
	Worb	—	—	1 ¹ / ₂	5
	Signau	—	—	3	10

Dates.		D. stances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
AUGUST			
	Langenau — —	1 ¹ / ₂	5
	Eschlismatt — —	3	10
	Schupfen — —	1 ¹ / ₂	5
21.	Entlibuch — —	2 ¹ / ₂	8 ¹ / ₄
	Wolhausen — —	2 ¹ / ₈	7
	Malters — —	2	6 ¹ / ₂
22.	LUCERNE — —	2 ¹ / ₈	7
	Winke — —	1	3 ¹ / ₄
	by water to — —		
	Alpnach — —	2	6 ¹ / ₂
	by land to — —		
	Sarne — —	1 ¹ / ₂	5
	by water to — —		
	Saxelen — —	¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂
	by land to — —		
	Kernwald — —	1 ¹ / ₂	5
24.	STANTZ — —	2	6 ¹ / ₂
	Graffenort — —	2 ¹ / ₄	7 ¹ / ₂
25.	Engelberg — —	2	6 ¹ / ₂
	over the Suren Alps to — —		
26.	ALTORF — —	5	16 ¹ / ₂
	Am Steg — —	2 ¹ / ₂	8 ¹ / ₄
	Wasen — —	2	6 ¹ / ₂
	Urseren — —	1 ³ / ₄	5 ³ / ₄
27.	Hospital — —	1	3 ¹ / ₄
	to Spital on St. Gothard — —	1 ³ / ₄	5 ³ / ₄
28.	Hospital — —	2	6 ¹ / ₂
	Realp — —	1 ³ / ₄	5 ³ / ₄
	over the Furca and Grimsel — —		
29.	to Spital — —	5 ¹ / ₂	18
	Handeck — —	2	6 ¹ / ₂
30.	Meyringen — —	4	13
31.	Grindelwald — —	4 ¹ / ₂	14 ³ / ₄
SEPT. 1.	Lauterbrunnen — —	3	10
	Leifingen — —	3	10
	Aeschi — —	1	3 ¹ / ₄
3.	Frutigen — —	2 ¹ / ₄	7 ¹ / ₂
	Kandersteg — —	3	10

Dates.			Distances.	
			Leagues.	Miles.
SEPT.				
	Winteregg	— —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	over the Gemmi to			
4.	Baths of Leuk	— —	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	12 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Siders —	— —	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
	St. Leonard	— —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
5.	SION —	— —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Ridda —	— —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Martigny —	— —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
6.	Trient	— —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
7.	the Priory	— —	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	12 $\frac{1}{4}$
8.	ascended Montanvert			
	Valorfine —	— —	3	10
	Trient	— —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
10.	Martigny —	— —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	St. Maurice	— —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Bex —	— —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	to Bevieux	— —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
11.	Bex —	— —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Aigle —	— —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Villeneuve	— —	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	7
	Vevay	— —	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	7
	by water to	— —		
12.	Meillerie	— —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Ouchy	— —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	by land to			
13.	LAUSANNE	— —	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Morges	— —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Rolle —	— —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Nyon —	— —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Copet —	— —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
16.	GENEVA	— —	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
27.	to LYONS. — Returned to			
OCT. 6.	PONTARLIER	— —		
	St. Pierre	— —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Verrieres	— —	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Motiers	— —	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Travers	— —	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Rochesfort	— —	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dates.			Distances.	
			Leagues.	Miles.
Oct.				
7.	NEUFCHATEL	—	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Thielle	—	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Anet	—	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
8.	Walperschwyyl	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Morat	—	4	13
9.	FRIBURGH	—	4	13
	Morat	—	4	13
	Greng	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to			
	Motier	—	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	2
	to Mount Vuilly	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Greng	—	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
	by land to			
12.	Coujouvaux	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Morat	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Arberg	—	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Nidau	—	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
13.	BIENNE	—	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Reuchnete	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Pierre Pertuis	—	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Tavannes	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Bellelay	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Gloviblier	—	3	10
14.	PORENTRU	—	4	13
	Grandvillard	—	3	10
	Beffort	—	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Altkirch	—	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$
15.	BASLE	—	6	20
	Blotzheim	—	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	9
	MULHAUSEN	—	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	11

Dates.				Distances.	
				Leagues.	Miles.
TOUR in 1786.					
SEPT.	ENTERED Switzerland				
	from PARIS and DIJON, through				
	PONTARLIER	—	—		
	St. Pierre	—	—	1	3 ¹ / ₄
	Joigne	—	—	2 ³ / ₄	9
18.	Orbe	—	—	3 ³ / ₈	11
19.	St. Barthelemi	—	—	2 ³ / ₄	9
20.	Morges	—	—	3 ⁵ / ₈	12
	Rolle	—	—	2 ³ / ₄	9
	Nyon	—	—	2 ¹ / ₄	7 ¹ / ₂
	Copet	—	—	1 ³ / ₄	5 ³ / ₄
23.	to GENEVA	—	—	2 ¹ / ₂	8 ¹ / ₄
	Copet	—	—	2 ¹ / ₂	8 ¹ / ₄
	Nyon	—	—	1 ³ / ₄	5 ³ / ₄
	Rolle	—	—	2 ¹ / ₄	7 ¹ / ₂
29.	Morges	—	—	2 ³ / ₄	9
30.	St. Barthelemi	—	—	3 ⁵ / ₈	12
OCT. 1.	Orbe	—	—	2 ³ / ₄	9
	Yverdun	—	—	2 ¹ / ₄	7 ¹ / ₂
	Granfon	—	—	1	3 ¹ / ₄
	St. Aubin	—	—	3	10
2.	Boudri	—	—	1 ³ / ₈	4 ¹ / ₂
3.	NEUFCHATEL	—	—	1 ¹ / ₂	5
	St. Blaise	—	—	1	3 ¹ / ₄
	Neuville	—	—	1 ⁷ / ₈	6 ¹ / ₄
	by water to				
	I. St. Peter.	—	—	1 ¹ / ₄	4
	Neuville	—	—	1 ¹ / ₄	4
	by land to				
4.	NEUFCHATEL	—	—	2 ³ / ₄	9
	Thielle	—	—	1 ³ / ₄	5 ³ / ₄
	Anet	—	—	1	3 ¹ / ₄
	Walperschwyl	—	—	2 ¹ / ₂	8 ¹ / ₄
	Morat	—	—	4	13
	to Villars	—	—	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂
	Morat	—	—	1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂

Dates.				Distances.	
				Leagues.	Miles.
Oct.					
5.	Greng —	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to				
	Motier —	—	—	$\frac{5}{8}$	2
	Greng —	—	—	$\frac{5}{8}$	2
	by land to				
	Coujouvaux	—	—	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$3\frac{3}{4}$
9.	to FRIBURGH	—	—	$3\frac{5}{8}$	12
11.	Greng —	—	—	4	13
	Morat —	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
	Gimmenen	—	—	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	Riederer	—	—	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
13.	BERNE —	—	—	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
	Maffie —	—	—	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
17.	to Thun —	—	—	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$
	Maffie —	—	—	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$
	Worb —	—	—	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
18.	BERNE —	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Hindelbank	—	—	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Kilchberg	—	—	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
	Burberg	—	—	$3\frac{3}{4}$	$12\frac{1}{4}$
	Murgenthal	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
19.	Zoffingen	—	—	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	Tagmersellen	—	—	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	Surfee —	—	—	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
	Adelwil	—	—	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
20.	LUCERNE	—	—	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	Honau	—	—	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
	Knonau	—	—	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Albis —	—	—	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
21.	ZURIC —	—	—	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
	Basserstorf	—	—	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	Winterthur	—	—	$1\frac{3}{4}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
	Islikon —	—	—	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
24.	Frauenfeld	—	—	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	Mulheim	—	—	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	CONSTANCE	—	—	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$
	Zell —	—	—	$5\frac{1}{2}$	18

Dates.					Distances.	
					Leagues.	Miles.
Oct.						
25.	SCHAFHAUSEN	—	—		5 $\frac{1}{2}$	18
	Neunkirch	—	—		2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Lauchingen	—	—		3	10
26.	Waldshut	—	—		3	10
	Lauffenburgh	—	—		3	10
	Seckingen	—	—		1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Rheinfelden	—	—		2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
28.	BASLE	—	—	—	3	10

N^o. 4.

A CATALOGUE OF TRAVELS AND BOOKS
treating of the natural and political history,
constitution and geography of Switzerland *.

I. ITINERARIES IN A POCKET - SIZE.

Anleitung auf die nützlichste und genussvollste Art in der Schweiz zu reisen von J. G. EBEL. 2 vol. 8°. Zürich, 1793. and in French :

Instruction pour un voyageur qui se propose de parcourir la Suisse de la manière la plus utile & la plus propre à lui procurer toutes les jouissances dont cette contrée abonde, par J. G. EBEL. Basle, 1795. 2 vol. 8°.

The French translation by colonel FREY is in many respects preferable to the German original. The work itself will prove the most perfect and useful guide to travellers that cannot load themselves with many books. The first volume treats of the manner of travelling in this country, of the different roads, inns, curiosities, coins, &c. The second contains a geographical dictionary. This book renders any other on this subject useless.

Avis aux voyageurs en Suisse avec une nouvelle carte des routes principales de la Suisse, où l'on a marqué les distances d'un endroit à l'autre. 1788. 8°. The same also in German,

* Instead of reprinting the imperfect Catalogue of books occasionally consulted in the course of this publication, which is annexed to the original edition, we have drawn up the following, ranged in systematical order, and brought down to the present times.

II. TRAVELS. *

Some Letters containing an Account of what seemed remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, &c. by G. BURNET. London. 1686. 8°.

This is one of the most interesting of the old books of travels, particularly the articles Geneva, Berne and Rhetia.

Remarks on several parts of Italy and Switzerland by ADDISON. London. 8°.

Very interesting.

Ougeσιφοίης Helveticus, five itinera per Helvetiæ alpinas regiones facta, annis 1702-1711. plurimis tabulis æneis illustrata a J. J. SCHEUCHZERO. Lugd. Bat. 1723 & seqq. 4. vol. 4°.

SCHEUCHZER was the first who wrote on the natural history of Switzerland; and though different parts of it have been farther elucidated since his time, this very curious work will always be read with pleasure.

J. G. SULZERS Beschreibung einiger Merkwürdigkeiten, welche er in einer A°. 1742 gemachten Bergreise durch einige Oerter der Schweiz beobachtet hat. Zürich. 1747. 4°.

Contains many instructive astronomical and physical observations.

J. G. KEYSSLERS Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweiz, &c. Hannover 1776. 2 vol. 4°.

This well informed traveller gives a circumstantial account of the manners, natural curiosities, arts, sciences and antiquities; but a small part of his book treats of Switzerland.

* Of the many ancient and modern books of travels, we mention only the most useful.

ALB. HALLER iter Helveticum 1739. Göttingen. 1740. in 4°. Treats chiefly of Botany.

MARTINI GERBERTI iter Alemannicum. 1765. in 8°. Treats of antiquities.

(*ANDREAE*) *Briefe aus der Schweiz nach Hannover geschrieben in dem Jahr 1763.* Zürich 1752. in 4°.

That part which treats of the natural history of Switzerland is very entertaining.

Letters écrites de Suisse, d'Italie, de Sicile & de Malte, par feu ROLAND, ministre de l'intérieur. Paris VII. 6 vol. 12°.

These volumes are the fruits of three tours made in the years 1769. 1757. and 1777. Their principal objects are manners and commerce.

Letters sur différents sujets, écrites pendant le cours d'un voyage par la Suisse en 1774 & 1775. par J. BERNOULLI. Berlin. 2 vol. 8°.

Full of curious observations on astronomy and natural history.

Tagebuch einer von Berlin nach den mittäglichen Ländern von Europa in den Jahren 1775 und 1776 gethanen Reise, von J. G. SULZER. Leipzig 1780. 8°.

Contains many important remarks, some of which relate to Switzerland.

MOORE'S View of society and manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany. London. 1779. 2 vol. 8°.

This author's observations are generally very just.

LEONHARD MELSTER'S kleine Reise durch einige Schweitzer-cantone. Basel. 1782. 8°.

Voyage historique & littéraire dans la Suisse occidentale. Neufchatel 1781. 2 vol. 8°.

A capital performance, in which the author (Mr. SINNER) throws a light on the arts, statistics, antiquities and the literary history of this part of Switzerland.

STORR's Alpenreise vom Jahr 1781. Leipzig. 1784. 2. vol. 8°.

Instructive and just.

MEINERS Briefe über die Schweiz, zweyte Auflage. Berlin. 1788. 4 vol. 8°.

Mr. MEINERS has made two tours through Switzerland; the first from june 1782, to september 1783. the second from june to september 1788. Few travellers have spent so much time as this author has done, in order to acquire a knowledge of Switzerland; and fewer have been favored so copiously by friends and men of letters with proper materials; by which he was enabled to give in his work the most accurate and entertaining account of this country. It is the best book of travels printed in any language, and well deserving to be translated. Every thing relating to the knowledge of man, his education and manners; to government, the happiness and prosperity of the inhabitants; is very accurately described. The author's judgments are solid and just; and his strictures on the advantages and defects of the late constitution of the canton of Berne in particular are a masterpiece of philosophical history; his narrative of the broils in Geneva is also very circumstantial.

Voyages minéralogiques dans le gouvernement d'Aigle & une partie du Vallais, suivis de la relation d'une excursion sur le lac de Lucerne, par Mr. le comte de RAZOUMOWSKY. Lausanne. 1784. in 8°.

(KÜTTNER's) Briefe eines Sachsen aus der Schweiz an seinen Freund in Leipzig. Leipzig. 1785. 3 vol. 8°.

These letters are well written and treat particularly of Basle and the Pays de Vaud.

Manuel pour les savans & les curieux qui voyagent en Suisse, par M. BESSON. Avec des notes, par Mr. WYTTEBACH. Berne. 1786. 2 vol. 8°.

Reise durch etliche Kantone der Schweiz von einem Schweitzer. 8°. Zürich 1789.

This tour from Zurich to the Scheideck, through Lucerne, Unterwalden and the Haslithal, is exceedingly well written, but very short.

Course de Basle à Bienne, par les vallées du Jura. 8°. Basle. 1789.

The author of this entertaining work, Mr. BRIDEL, formerly preacher to the French congregation in Basil, is now preparing for the press an improved edition of his tour, which will be embellished with picturesque views drawn on the spot by Mr. BIRMANN, one of the first landscape-painters of Switzerland.

Ueber die Schweiz, und die Schweizer. 2. vol. 8°. 1795.

A bitter satire on the manners of the Swifs.

Nouveau voyage en Suisse, contenant une peinture de ce pays, de ses mœurs & de ses gouvernements actuels; par HÉLÈNE MARIE WILLIAMS, traduit de l'Anglois, par J. B. SAR. 2. vol. 8°. 1798.

Miss WILLIAMS travelled in Switzerland in the years 1793 and 1794; but deferred the publication of her observations till after the breaking out of the revolution in 1798. The graceful style and the lively imagination of the authorefs will never efface the bad impressions, which the revolutionary principles that are held forth in this book, are apt to make on the minds of impartial readers.

FRIED. BRUN, geb. MUENTER, *Reise durch die westliche und nördliche Schweiz, im Jul. 1791. in den prosaischen Schriften derselben,* 2 vol. 8°. 1799.

Tagebuch einer Reise durch die östliche, südliche und Italienische Schweiz. Ausgearbeitet in den Jahren 1798 und 1799. von FRIEDERIKE BRUN, geb. MUENTER. Kopenhagen. 1800. 8°.

III. LITERARY HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND.

HALLERS (G. E. von) *Bibliothek der Schweizergeschichte und aller Theile so dahin Bezug haben, systematisch-chronologisch geordnet.* 6. vol. 8°.

This valuable work contains a critical catalogue of above 12,000 books published on Switzerland till to the year 1785; ranged in a systematical and chronological order.

IV. GEOGRAPHY AND STATISTICS.

Of the whole country.

NORRMANN'S *geographisches und historisches Handbuch der Länder-Völker-und Staatenkunde, mit beständiger Rücksicht auf physicalische Beschaffenheit, Producte, Industrie, Handlung, &c.* Hamburg. 1795. 4 vol. in 8°.

Excellent. The author has consulted the best books and manuscripts.

Statistique élémentaire, ou essay sur l'état géographique, physique & politique de la Suisse, par F. J. DURAND. 4. vol. in 8°.

J. C. FAESI *Staats-und Erdbeschreibung der ganzen Helvetischen Eidgenossenschaft.* 4 vol. 8°. 1768.

A classical work, but too diffuse.

BUESCHINGS *Erdbeschreibung von Helvetien*; in the last edition of his Geography. 1792.

Surprisingly accurate.

Dictionnaire géographique, historique & politique de la Suisse. Neufchatel, 2 vol. 8°. 1775.

This useful book has been compiled by TSCHARNER and G. E. de HALLER.

Of particular cantons and districts.

J. G. EBELS *Schilderung der Gebirgsvölker der Schweiz.* Erster Band, enthaltend die Schilderung des Gebirgvolkes vom Canton Appenzell. 8°. Leipzig, 1798. with cuts. Zweyter Band, enthaltend die Schilderung des Gebirgvolks vom Canton Glaris und den Vogteien Uznach, Gastr, Sargans, Werdenberg, Sax und Rheinthals, des Toggenburgs, der alten Landschaft, der Stadt St. Gallen und des östl. Theils des Cantons Zürich. Leipzig. 8°. 1801. with cuts.

A faithful picture of the physical, civil, political, moral and oeconomic state of this small but interesting people.

F. G. STALDERS *Fragmente über Entlibuch*. 2 vol. 8°. 1798.

The physical, civil and moral state of this valley is here fully described.

H. L. LEHMANN'S *Republik Graubünden, historisch, geographisch, statistisch dargestellt*, 2 vol. 8°. 1799.

H. L. LEHMANN'S *Landschaft Veltelin nach ihrer bisherigen politischen und geographischen Lage und Verfassung dargestellt*. 8°. 1797.

H. L. LEHMANN'S *Grasschaft Chiavenna und Bormio nach ihrer bisherigen politischen und geographischen Lage dargestellt*. 8°. 1798.

The three preceding works of Mr. LEHMANN contain, among several errors and digressions, many new and important observations. The author's reflections on the manners and customs of the inhabitants are in general true and impartial. His topographical description of the three Grison leagues is a master-piece well worth the notice of every traveller.

V. WORKS ON NATURAL HISTORY.

In general.

Historia naturalis Helvetiæ curiosa, aut. J. J. WEGNERO, Tigur. 1680. 12°.

J. J. SCHEUCHZERS *Naturgeschichte des Schweitzerlandes, samt seinen Reisen über die Schweizerischen Gebirge, aufs neue herausgegeben und mit einigen Anmerkungen versehen von J. G. SULZERN*. Zürich. 1746. 2 vol. 8°.

Naturhistorie des Schweitzerlandes von J. J. SCHEUCHZER. Zürich. 1752. 4°. 3 vol.

These volumes contain the Stoicheiography, Orography, Oreography, Hydrography, Meteorology and Oryctography,

together with many curious observations. The botanical and zoological parts, designed by the author to complete his work, have not yet been published, and remain still in manuscript.

Descriptions of the Glaciers.

Die Eisgebirge des Schweitzerlandes beschrieben von G. S. GRUNER. Bern. 1781. 3 vol. 8°.

The French translation of this book by KERALIO, Paris. 1770. 4°. is a worthless performance.

Voyage pittoresque aux glaciers de Savoie, fait en 1772, par Mr. B. (BORDIER). Geneve. 1773. 8°.

Very picturesque, but often exaggerated.

Description des glaciers, glaciers & amas de glace du duché de Savoie, par THÉOD. BOURRIT. Geneve. 1773. 8°.

Better than the foregoing.

Lettres physiques & morales sur les montagnes & sur l'histoire de la terre & de l'homme, par M. de Luc. à La Haye. 1778. 8°.

Description des Alpes Pennines & Rhétiennes, par THÉOD. BOURRIT. Geneve. 1781.

Voyages dans les Alpes, précédés d'un essai sur l'histoire naturelle des environs de Geneve, par de SAUSSURE. Neufchatel. 1779 - 1796. 4 vol. 4°.

A classical work.

Botany.

CONRAD GESSNER, who lived in the sixteenth century, was the first who wrote on this science. Death hindered him from publishing his *Historia stirpium*. His book *de hortis Germaniæ* exhibits the first catalogue of Swiss plants. Botany has since been cultivated with success by BAUHIN, father and son; SCHEUCHZER, MURALT, and HALLER, of whose different works we shall only mention the following.

ALB. v. HALLER. *Historia stirpium indigenarum Helvetiæ inchoata.* Bernæ. 1768. 3 vol. 4°.

This work sold very fast, and the reverend Mr. WYTTEBACH published in 1795 the following :

ALB. v. HALLER *icones plantarum Helvetiæ, ex ipsius historia stirpium Helveticarum denuo recusa, cum descriptionibus clarissimi auctoris ejusque præfatione de rebus historiam naturalem Alpium illustrantibus. Additis notis editoris.* Bernæ. 1795. fol.

Nomenclator ex historia plantarum indigenarum Helvetiæ excerptus, autore ALB. v. HALLER. Bernæ. 1749. 8°.

This useful abridgment contains 2490 Swiss plants.

Zoology.

Since the days of CONRAD GESSNER, who in the XVI century published his *Historia Animalium*, this part of the natural history of Switzerland has been little attended to. Mfirs. J. C. FUESSLIN and J. H. SULZER have lately published a curious work on Entomology.

Mineralogy.

GRUNERS *Versuch eines Verzeichnisses der Mineralien des Schweitzerlandes.* Bern. 8°. 1775.

This is the best work on this science.

VI. HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION.

Ancient History.

Helvetia antiqua & nova: opera J. B. PLANTINI. Bernæ, 1656. 8°.

This and the three following works of professor GOTTL. WALTHER are very instructive.

Grundsätze zur Beurtheilung der Verfassung und Sitten der alten Helvetier, vor der Römischen Herrschaft, Bern. 1781. 8°.

Celtische Alterthümer zur Erläuterung der Geschichten und Verfassung Helvetiens. 1783. 8°.

Versuch über die älteste Geschichte Helvetiens. Bern. 1784. 8°.

F. L. HALLER *Versuch einer Geschichte der Helvetier unter den Römern.* Zürich. 1783. 8°.

General History.

Allgemeines Schweizerisches Lexicon von HANS JACOB LEW. Zürich. 1747 - 1765. 20 vol. in 4°.

This is a very useful work; the literary and historical parts are less exact than the topographical and genealogical.

ÆGIDIÏ TSCHUDII, gewesenen Landammanns zu Glarus, *Chronicon Helveticum* aus dem Originale herausgegeben von J. R. ISELIN, Basel. 1734 - 1736. 2 vol. fol.

TSCHUDI was one of the ablest statesmen in his time, and a great lover of truth; being much employed in public affairs, he had free access to the archives in his country. He founds his relation of facts on proofs and authorities taken from authentic records, which renders his book truly valuable. That part of it which is in print goes from the year 2000 to the year 1470. The second and third parts have not yet been published. The history of the year 1471. is wanted in the second, which comprises a circumstantial account of the events that happened between 1472 and 1509. The third contains the materials for the history from 1510 to 1564. Till now no Swiss bookfeller has met with encouragement enough to undertake the publication of these two parts.

JOS. SIMLERI *de republica Helvetiorum libri duo.* Adjunctum est compendium historiae Helvetiae antiquae, auctore J. C. FUESSLINO, &c. Tigur. 1734. in 8°.

This is the best edition of a very instructive and impartial work which has been printed for the first time in 1576.

LAUFFERS genaue und umständliche Beschreibung Helvetischer Geschichte. Zürich, 1736 & seq. 18 vol. 8°. besides several supplemental volumes.

LAUFFER, being professor of history at Berne, undertook the task by order of that government, who, for this purpose, gave him free access to the public archives, and promoted the design by all means in their power. The history is by him brought down to the year 1657. The author, emulating the manner of the ancients, affected to reject all notes and quotations. In the earlier period he has been found deficient in accuracy; but in the middle age he is allowed to be sufficiently correct. His style is prolix, often turgid, and by no means alluring: and the narrative is continually loaded with minutiae.

FRANC. GUILLIMANNI *de rebus Helvetiorum, sive antiquitatum libri V. Friburgi Avent.* 1598. 4°.

A classical work, but not so impartial as that of SIMLER.

Schweitzer Chronica, &c. durch MICHAEL STETTLER, Bern. 1626. 2 vol. fol°.

This history, though ill written, diffuse and partial, has however the merit of being founded on proofs.

Histoire de la confédération Helvétique, par A. L. de WATTEVILLE, Yverdun. 1768. 2 vol.

A good abridgment, entertaining and true. It goes as far as the year 1603.

LEONH. MEISTERS. *Hauptscenen der Helvetischen Geschichte, nach der Zeitordnung gereihet.* Zürich. 1784. 2 vol. 8°.

Contains a great many interesting anecdotes, and goes till to the year 1768.

Der Geschichte Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft erstes bis drittes Buch, durch JOH. MÜLLER. Leipzig 1788. 3 vol. 8°.

Few nations can boast of a history like this. The three volumes that are published bring it down to the year 1443.

and the author has promised the continuation. It has been translated into French, and printed in 10 vol. 8°. at Laufanne.

The author of this valuable history is a native of Schaffhausen, where, in the year 1772, being then only twenty years of age, he was appointed greek professor. Conscious of powers, however, which fitted him for higher exertions, he accepted various civil as well as literary employments at Cassel and Mentz, and is at present intrusted with one of the principal offices in the department of foreign affairs at Vienna. Such is the confidence that has been placed in his abilities and integrity, that he (a protestant) was once deputed to accommodate a difference between the pope and the elector of Mentz. With a fund of general historical knowledge, of which few men can boast, he has carefully perused documents, both printed and in manuscript, relating to the transactions of his country; and explored every repository of title-deeds, in which he could expect to find any materials tending to elucidate those transactions. He has repeatedly visited every spot illustrated by any memorable event, and the many monuments which till lately recorded the glory of the nation. He is in possession of the honorable appellation of the Helvetic Tacitus; and like that sublime historian, is charged with a brevity in his style which sometimes borders upon obscurity: his thoughts often seem to bound beyond the sphere of language. Unfortunately this distinguished author has not continued his history lower down than the year 1443.

Thei History of the Helvetic Confederacy (by J. PLANTA, of the British Museum) and Secretary to the Royal Society of Arts. London. 1800, 2 vol. 4°.

This is the completest history of Switzerland, as that of MULLER, whom the author has followed, is not yet finished, nor will be very soon. He has brought his work down to
the

the dissolution of the confederacy, which he relates at length. The whole is drawn and compiled from the best authorities.

Abrégé de l'Histoire des Helvétiens connues aussi sous le nom de Suisses, par GEORGE FAYER. 12°. Lausanne. 1801.

This sketch goes to the 7th of September 1801.

To enumerate the particular histories of every distinct canton would swell this catalogue to a disproportionate size. On the history of the Helvetic revolution the following works may be consulted.

Essai historique sur la destruction de la ligue & de la liberté Helvétique par J. MALLET DU PAN, 12°. 1798.

Précis de la révolution de la Suisse, de Berne en particulier, par le colonel de ROVERÉA, chef de la Légion Romande, appelée Légion fidèle. Avril 1798. 8°.

H. ZSCHOKKE *Geschichte vom Kampf und Untergang der Schweizerischen Berg- und Waldcantone, besonders des alten eidgenössischen Cantons Schwyz*. 8°. Zürich und Bern. 1801.

C. B. v. HALLER *Geschichte der Wirkungen und Folgen des Oestreichischen Feldzugs in der Schweiz; ein historisches Gemälde der Schweiz vor, während, und nach ihrer versuchten Wiederbefreiung; mit mancherley unbekannten Aufschlüssen über die Ereignisse dieser Zeit*, 2 vol. 8°. Weimar. 1801.

Constitution.

On this head, beside SIMLERS *Respublica Helvetiorum*, the following works deserve to be mentioned.

An account of Switzerland written in the year 1714. London. 1714. 8°.

Mr. STANYAN, the author of this well written book has been during eighteen years ambassador from the court of England to the Swiss republic.

LEONH. MEISTERS *Abriss des eidgenössischen Staatsrechtes überhaupt, nebst dem besondern Staatsrecht jedes Cantons.* St. Gallen. 1786. 8°.

MEINERS *Lettres on Switzerland* contain also many very good observations on the constitutions of the different cantons, particularly of that of Berne.

Biography.

Helvetiens berühmte Männer in Bildnissen dargestellt von HEINR. PFENNINGER, Maler, nebst kurzen biographischen Nachrichten von LEONH. MEISTER. Zürich. 1782 - 1786. 3 vol. 8°.

The portraits are very like, and the anecdotes interesting.

J. C. FUESSLINS *Geschichte der besten Künstler in der Schweiz, nebst ihren Bildnissen.* Zürich. 1769 - 1779. 5. vol. 8°.

5.

A LIST OF LANDSCAPES VIEWS AND PROSPECTS IN SWITZERLAND.

ABERLI of Berne

has published, large size

A view of Yverdun.

————— *Cerlier.*

————— *Mouri.*

————— *Wimmis.*

middling size;

A view of the city of Berne taken from its northern side;

————— *Well.*

————— *Lausanne.*

————— *Vevay.*

————— *Oberhaslithal.*

————— *Brienz.*

————— *Glaciers of the Grindelwald.*

————— *Staubbach.*

————— *Nidau.*

————— *Thun.*

All these prospects have been colored after nature by the late Mr. ABERLI, who has brought this kind of drawing to perfection. BIEDERMANN, BIRMANN, RIETER, LORY, &c. his scholars and successors, have worked in the same manner. Their united labors exhibit a faithful picture of the most interesting views in Switzerland, more valuable than the

pretended *Voyage pittoresque*; and proper to remind the traveller of those scenes which he has beheld with pleasing wonder.

The same artist has also drawn for Mr. MECHER, printer in Basil, two large views of the city of Berne, and a view of the Jungfrauhorn.

BACLER d'ALEE.

A view of the bridge and passage of St. Maurice in the Vallais.

A view of the cascade of St. Saphorin on the lake of Geneva.

A view of Mont-blanc.

BIEDERMANN of Winterthur

has published a set of seventeen colored views, each 22 inches broad and 14 inches high, of
the city and environs of Lucerne.

Stanz.

Sarnen.

Zurich.

Berne.

Schaffhausen.

Friburgh.

Soleure.

Basle.

Zug.

Schweitz.

Altorf.

Glaris.

Appenzel.

Herisau.

Thun.

Winterthur.

This collection, together with the drawings of ABERLI, RIETER and BIRMANN, presenting the finest views in Switzerland, has also been published in a smaller size.

Characteristic of Switzerland, representing the gradual transition from the plain to the glaciers; in four sheets, each 29 inches broad 18½ inches high, containing a view of *Wildegge*.

————— *Lucerne*.

————— *Kanderthal*.

————— *Rosenlaugletscher*.

PETER BIRMANN of *Basle*.

Large-sized views colored of
Schelmenloch, } in the canton of *Basle*.
Giessen, }

A view of the environs of Basle.

————— the environs of *Sursee*.

————— the lake of *Lawertz*.

————— the lake of the four Cantons.

————— the fall of the Rhine at *Schaffhausen*.

————— *Isola Bella* in the *Lago Maggiore*.

Small-sized views colored of

The Reichenbach.

The Devil's bridge.

A picturesque tour from Basle to Bienne, on 36 plates.

The Black Forest, in 4 plates.

A landscape after Charles Dujardin.

————— *Jean Bolh d'Italie*.

Two landscapes after Loutherburch.

Two landscapes after Claude Gélée, commonly called *Le Lorrain*.

Two landscapes after Nicholas Berghem,

Two paintings with horses, after Queenfort.

St. Francis praying in a cavern. after Teniers.

The above plates, engraved in a new style, and exhibiting faithful copies of their originals, will be continued. The same artist has also a great number of views, drawn by himself, after nature, in Italy and Switzerland; and is now publishing a collection of Swiss dresses, from paintings by REINHARD. Twelve plates are ready for sale. Each plate represents a groupe of three or more figures in their proper dresses, &c. they are all drawn with much spirit, and neatly colored.

Mr. BIRMANN has drawn for J. DECKER, printer and bookseller in Basle:

A collection of six views in Switzerland etched by REINERMANN and colored under the direction of the author.

For Mr. MECHEL, printseller:

The city and lake of Zug,

The city and bridge of Rapperschwyl, both colored,

For the chalcographical society at Dessau:

The Haslithal.

W. Tell's chapel.

Maria - stein.

The Fall of the Aar near Unterseen.

All four engraved in aquatinta by HALDENWANG.

DUNKER.

Two views of the Waterfall at Douanne, in the canton of Berne.

A view of the city of Avenche.

Morat.

S. FREUDENBERGER of Berne.

A pretty collection, exhibiting, on fifteen neatly colored plates, a lively and striking picture of the manners of the Swifs, viz.

The return from market.

Rural ease.

The visit in the cottage.

The parting of the Swifs soldier.

Maternal care.

The contented villager.

The songsters in May.

The unexpected feast.

The spinster.

The throwster.

The rural toilette.

Village - neatness.

A girl swinging.

The kind father.

Mr. MECHEL, printfeller has published of this artist:

The small Swifs family of the canton of Berne.

H. FUESSLI of Zurich.

A collection of picturesque views in Switzerland, colored, five parts, each containing fix plates.

The city of Zurich, 14 inches by 22, colored.

The ruins of Stanz-Stadt, 13 inches by 10, in colors and brown.

SOLOMON GESSNER.

Though poetry was the darling pursuit of this amiable author, and though he enriched the literature of his country with works which will render his name immortal, he did

not confine himself to one manner of imitating nature; he in turns took up the pencil and the pen; and his active genius equally directed them both.

His drawings, by which he acquired so much reputation, that he was ranked among the best artists of Germany, are in much request among connoisseurs.

The quarto edition of his works, embellished with frontispieces, vignettes, and other ornaments drawn and etched by himself, and whereof the two first volumes were printed in his own office in 1777 and 1778, is a literary curiosity, which the lover of the fine arts and the friend to the Graces will behold with ever new delight. The family of Mr. GESSNER have lately promised the completion of this splendid edition, which will certainly excel all others made in foreign countries and overloaded with decorations.

Mr. Gessner has also published: *A collection of 32 etched landscapes in 4°.* These are mostly sketches, but such, as an inhabitant of Switzerland and the poet of nature only could invent. Each of these landscapes is an idyl; and each group a beautiful scene.

Fifty-two views of Switzerland drawn and etched by himself, in his own light manner; in a pocket-size; where the traveller will trace the many romantic scenes by which he must have been enchanted.

GMELIN.

The Fall of the Rhine at Lauffen, near Schaffhausen.

The Rocks and Shoals in the Rhine, at Lauffenburgh.

Both in black and colored.

Allstadt on the lake of Lucerne, with the monument erected by the Abbé Raynal in memory of the three founders of the Swiss league.

These three plates have been published by Mr. de MECHEL at Basle.

HÆGY of Zurich

has engraved several plates, which have been published by BIRMANN.

J. R. HENTZI.

The most remarkable views of the Mountains of Switzerland, engraved in colors, with the description of them; six parts.

L. HESS.

The Bridge over the Aar on mount Grimfel, brown.

View of the Lake of Zug.

———— Road over the St. Gothard.

———— Visp in the Vallais.

———— Elzogne, in the valley of Esch.

———— Reust in the canton of Unterwalden where
Nich. von der Flue lived.

———— Ideo.

———— Olivona in the valley of Palenz.

———— Bridge over the Rhine in the valley of Nevies
in the Grisons.

Engraved by HAEGI and BILLVILLER in aqua-tinta, and
published by MAT. PFENNINGER.

*Rhinefall near Ruslen in the Grisons, Engraved by HALDEN-
WANG and published by CHR. de MECHEL.*

Rheinwald-Gletscher, published by M. PFENNINGER.

HUBERT.

View of the Castle of Lausanne.

———— Castle of Chillon on the lake of Geneva.
Both in colors.

F. N. KOENIG of *Interlaken*

has published a collection of Swiss dresses on 24 sheets. The contours are etched in the manner of black chalk, and finished with the pencil. The figures are portraits.

The Return from the Alps.

The Laborious Family.

The Kiltgang.

Golzweyl near Interlaken by moonlight.

LAFOND and LORY.

View of the Pissevache.

———— Montreux near Vevay and of the castle of Chillon.

———— Superior Glacier of the Grindelwald and of the Wetterhorn.

———— Inferior Glacier of the Grindelwald and of mount Eiger.

———— Environs of Thun.

———— The Aar at its flowing out from the lake of Brienz.

———— Island of Schwanau.

———— Altorf.

———— Fluelen in the canton of Uri.

———— Valley of Lauterbrunnen with the Staubbach.

———— Interlaken.

———— of the lake of Bienne, taken from the island of St. Pierre.

The above views were all designed and colored from nature. A set of seven smaller views, with a description of them. View of Ringgenberg, by LAFOND alone, 13 inches high and 20 broad.

A collection of ten landscapes designed by LAFOND, ZEHENDER and LORY, during a journey into the Oberhasli and the cantons of Schwiz and Uri, with an Itinerary.

H. LIPS of Zurich.

This engraver has published portraits of several eminent persons in Switzerland; such as *Freudweiler* and *Hess*, both painters; *Bonnet* and *Gessner*; *David Wyss* and *Henry Kilchsperger*, Burghmasters of Zurich; and *Lavater*, whose disciple he was and whom he assisted in the publication of his physiognomical work, most of the plates of which were engraved by him.

LOUTHERBURGH.

Two different Views of the *Rhinesal near Schaffhausen* in colors.

CHR. de MECHEL.

This artist, whose printshop is deservedly visited by every traveller, has published a great many engravings of Views, Manners and Dresses in Switzerland. Several of these being enumerated under the names of *ABERLI*, *HESS*, *DUNKER*, *BACLER d'ALBE*, &c. we shall here only mention the following:

The grave of Mrs. Langhans, at Hindelbank, by NAHL.

Solicitude of a mother in the eternity, after FREUDWEILER.

Two large views of the church of St. Urs at Soleure, representing the ceremony of the renewal of the league between France and Switzerland, in 1777.

Four large views of Basle, after BUECHEL.

A view of the Environs of Basle after WAGNER.

———— the *Waterfal at Lauffen, in the Bishopric of Basle.*

———— the *Mountain and dwelling of Michael Schupach at Langnau.*

———— *Lake of Zug*

———— *Bridge near Rapperschwil* } after *BIRMANN* colored.

Perspective view of General Pfyffer's model.

————— *Mount St. Gothard, after Mr. Exchaquet's model, in colors.*

————— *valley of Chamouni, the Mont-blanc, &c. after the model of Mr. Exchaquet, in colors.*

Mr. de Saussure's Excursion on the summit of Montblanc, two sheets in colors.

Plans and Elevations of the wooden bridges of Schaffhausen and Wettingen.

A view of the Rhine above its fall at Schaffhausen, in colors.

Two views of the castle of Falkenstein in the canton of Soleure.

A view of Pissevache.

————— *the Devil's bridge.*

————— *Meadow called Rutli, on the lake of the Four Cantons.*

————— *Altstadt on the lake of Lucerne.*

————— *Arau.*

————— *Citadel of Arburgh.*

————— *Brugg.*

————— *the monument erected near Fraubrunnen in memory of the victory which the militia of Berne obtained on that spot, in 1375.*

Two views of Basle.

View of the Mill at Bæzingen

————— *Pierre Pertuis.*

Six views representing the gardens at Arlesheim.

Manners and Dresses.

A Collection of twelve Swiss dresses, civil and military, of men and women, in the sixteenth century, after drawings of HOLBEIN, colored,

A Collection of twenty-four different dresses, of the inhabitants of the canton of Basle at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, drawn by HUBER, engraved by SCHELLENBERG.

A Collection of twenty-six modern dresses, of the country-people of Switzerland, colored after nature.

The Three Graces of the Gouguisberg.

The Three Bacchus of Morat.

*Country women of Switzerland,
of the Brisgau,
of Baden,
of Alsace, colored.*

The Love seller of Berne.

The Dress of a Traveller on the Alps.

Portraits of eminent Swifs.

Solomon Gessner after GRAAF, engraved by EICHLER.

Leonard Euler, after HANDMAN.

Isaac Iselin, after HICKEL, both engraved by HUBNER.

Michael Schuppach, after LOCHER, engraved by HUBNER.

Klyogg, (the country philosopher) by SCHELLENBERG.

General Pfyffer, after REINHARD, in colors.

Saussure, a whole length, colored.

Lavater, a whole length, colored.

———— half-length, colored.

———— on his deathbed.

Besides several other works that have no relation to Switzerland, Mr. de MECHEL has also published:

The Works of JOHN HOLBEIN, or a Collection of plates engraved after the finest pieces that are extant of this famous painter in different countries and particularly in the city of Basle, 4 parts in folº.

I. H. MEYER.

The ceremony of the Swearing of the oath on the Lindenhof at Zurich.

The monument of Solomon Gessner at Zurich.

The plates in the Helvetic almanacs for the years 1789 — 1798.

————— *picturesque journey into the Italian bailiwics of Switzerland.*

————— *Ebel's Traveller's guide through Switzerland.*

————— *Travels of F. Matthison.*

————— *Ebel's characteristic of the Highlanders.*

————— *Stalder's Description of the Entlibuch.*

————— *Bridel's Excursion.*

————— *Almanac of the Helvetic revolution.*

This artist is now publishing a series of plater representing the ruins of the canton of Unterwalden, drawn on the spot.

H. PFENNINGER of Zurich

has published a collection of portraits of the most eminent persons in Switzerland, 3 vol. The biographical part by LEONHARD MEISTER.

M. PFENNINGER of Zurich.

A view of Constance.

St. Gallen.

Baden.

Rapperschwyl, middle size, colored.

Several views after WUEST, HESS, &c. in the same manner; as also

Canobbio.

Breggia.

} *in an Italian bailiwick.*

Abbey of Engelberg, after KUNZ of Manheim.

Ragaz.	}	after BENZ of Balle.
Reichenau.		
Murg.		
Linth.		

Six oval views in the Grisons, after KUNZ.

A view of the Grove of Schinznach.

Forest of Bulach, in the canton of Zurich,
both after HUBER of Zurich.

RIETER of Berne

has drawn after nature, and published in colors,
large size.

A country-house and landscape in the canton of Berne.

The last Fall of the Richenbach.

The Fall of the Giesbach on the lake of Brienz.

A view of the Spietz on the lake of Thun.

————— Tour on the lake of Geneva.

————— Iseltwald on the lake of Brienz.

middle size

A view of the summit of the Virgin-peak.

————— Lachen, on the lake of Zurich.

————— chain of Alps, with a description.

small size.

A journey on the lake of Joux containing views of

Luchertz, near the lake of Bienne.

Isle of St. Pierre, on the lake of Bienne.

Bridge of Thiele, near the lake of Neufchatel.

Colliery near the lake of Joux.

Castle of Cerlier.

Bridge near the lake of Joux, two plates.

Orbe, two plates.

Montcherand, near Orbe.

A collection of ten views, viz.

Oberhasli.

Amsoldingen.

St. Maurice.

Im Grund.

Clarens.

Aarberg.

Wadenschweil.

Ringgenberg.

Chillon.

Wimmis.

Dresses of the country-people of the canton of Berne, in six sheets.

REINHARD of Lucerne

has travelled for many years in Switzerland, to paint the inhabitants of the different cantons; and formed a complete gallery of national physiognomies and Swiss dresses. Forty paintings are already finished, each of them contains three or more figures or groupes representing the inhabitants of every district, in their proper occupations and dresses. He travels about with this gallery and shows it for money. Mr. BIRMANN of Basle is actually publishing etched engravings of it which are neatly colored.

M. WOCHER of Basle.

The *Mill at Ragaz* engraved by HALDENWANG, published by the chalcographical society in Dessau.

H. WUEST of Zurich.

A view of the Waterfal at Weislingen.

Waterfal at Erlenbach.

both large sized plates colored.

Pass over the Hauenstein and the Waterfal at Balstal, two middle-sized plates colored.

The above four views have been engraved and published by M. PFENNINGER of Zurich.

ZEHENDER of Berne.

A view of the Schwarzbrunnli, a mineral spring near Gournigeln in the canton of Berne, with thirty-six figures.

Lake of Engstlen.

INDEX.

I N D E X.

*** *The Numerals I. II. III. denote the Volumes;
the Figures the Pages.*

A.

- A** *A*, river and cataract, vol. I. page 251. 265.
- Aar*, river, I. 140. 188. its sources; gold-dust found in its bed, 296. excursion to its source, 301. valley of the, II. 1. 3. fall of the river, 2. 51. 292. 378.
- Aar-gletscher*, mountains, I. 298.
- Abbaye*, a village, II. 209.
- Abendberg*, mountain, II. 369.
- Adda*, river, III. 79. 83. source of the, 127—129. canal of the, 275—278.
- Adelric*, St. I. 110.
- Adige*, river, III. 125.
- Aeschi*, II. 52.
- Affholteren*, a village near Zurich, I. 116.
- D'Affry*, Count. See *St. Barthelemi*.
- Agaunum*. See *St. Maurice*.
- Agnes*, daughter of the Queen of Hungary, endows the convent of Kœnigsfelden, I. 138.
- Airolo*, a burgh, III. 318.
- Aigle*, saltworks, II. 198. government, 202.
- Albenen*, singular passage from Leuk to that village, II. 56.
- Albert*, of Hapsburgh, the emperor, assassinated, I. 135—137.
- Albis*, a village near Zurich, II. 214.
- Albula*, torrent, III. 235.
- Alliance*, perpetual, between France and the Swiss Cantons, I. 207. & seq. infringed upon, 211—219.
- Alp-bach*, a cascade, II. 5.
- Alp-nach*, a village in Unterwalden, I. 251.
- Alpschelenen-horn*, mountains, II. 337, 374.
- Alles Angnes*, a house in Upper Engadina, III. 102.
- Altits*, mountains, II. 374.
- Altitude*, of different mountains upon the globe compared, II. 105.
- Altorf*, the chief burgh of the canton Uri, I. 244.
- Alvenew*, baths of, III. 234.
- Amadeus*, the 8th. of Savoy, his tomb and history, II. 189—192.
- Amstein*, Dr. of Zitzers, his inquiries into the natural œconomy of the Marmot, III. 90.
- Anderwisen*, village, III. 235.
- D'Andlau*, Madame, I. 172.

Anghiera, castle of, III. 331.

Antoninus Pius, a monument of, discovered, II. 192, 193.

Appenzel, mountains of, I. 20. canton; history; government, 23. *Landamman*, or first magistrate, *ibid.* commerce and industry bleachery; cotton manufactory, 29. description of the country, 26. journey from thence to Saletz, 30. 31. receives subsidies from France, 219.

Aperta, the Rev. Mr. account of his works, III. 105.

Arau, treaty of, I. 123.

Arder, a village, III. 203.

Ardetz, a village, III. 118.

Aristocracy, definition of, I. 152. note,

Arlesheim, town of, I. 172.

Arniberg, mountain, I. 359.

Arona, town of, III. 331.

Arpenas. See *Magland*.

Arve, river, II. 181.

Arveron, river, II. 113.

Avry, town of, P. N. Chenaux retires thither, II. 283.

Asbestos, a rock of, near Chiavenna, III. 192.

Aubin, St. town of, II. 215.

Aughstweichtbrunnen, two springs in the glacier of the Furca, I. 298.

Augusta Rauracorum, an ancient Roman town, I. 165.

Avalanches, bodies of snow that fall from the mountains, II. 40. the village of Leuk partly destroyed by one, 55.

Avenches, anciently *Aventicum*, a burgh in the Pays de Vaud, II. 260. its antiquity, 261, & *seq.* curious Roman mosaic pavement, 262, 263. amphitheatre, 263, 264. other remains of antiquity, 263 — 265.

B.

Baden, town of, I. 130.

Badus, mountain, III. 260.

Balerna, bailliage, III. 75.

Bailliage, a species of Swiss government, I. 33. & *passim*.

Bailliages, the seven Italian, ceded to the Swiss, III. 322.

Ballenhœchst, mountain, II. 369.

Balmia, James, a guide, discovers a practicable ascent to the summit of Mount Blanc, II. 122.

La Balme, cave of, II. 183.

Balstal, valley of, I. 188.

Balthasar, Mr. I. 222. 265.

Bar, a district in canton Zug, I. 216.

St. Barthelemi, feat of Count d'Affry, II. 212.

Basle, journey from Zurich to, I. 129. strange difference of the clocks from real time, 142. situation of the city, 143. commerce; cathedral, 144. university, 145. public library, 147. cabinet of petrifications, &c.; paintings by Holbein, 148. & *seq.* bishops of, 152. See *Parentru*. Constitution and government; mode of election; election of professors, 155. sumptuary laws, 157. liberty of the citizens, 158. education; population, *ib.* 159.

La Bathia, near Martigny, II. 69.

St. Beat, mountains of, II. 368.

Beaufoy, Mr. succeeds in reaching the summit of Mont Blanc, II. 127.

Belgeritta, village, III. 330.

Bellano, town, III. 79.

Bellelay, abbey of; military academy there, I. 171.

Bellinzone, town of, III. 320. its history, 320 — 323.

Belpberg, mountain near Berne, II. 367.

I N D E X.

- Berchem*, Mr. Van, his account of the bouquetins, II. 164.
- Berne*, town and canton of, II. 292. buildings and situation; history; population; society: trade; public buildings; administration of justice; public library, 292—311. Government; militia; *exterior state*, 311—320.
- Bernoulli*, John, the mathematician, I. 156. account of his three sons, *ibid.*
- Bever*, village, III. 102.
- Bevio*, village, III. 100.
- Bevioux*, saltworks, II. 203—205.
- Bex*, saltworks, II. 198—203.
- Beza*, Theodore, III. 5.
- Blair's*, cabin, II. 108. III. 113.
- Blakeberg*, mountain, I. 259.
- Blaueberg*, mountain, I. 289.
- Blumlis alp*, II. 366.
- Bienne*, lake of, see *St. Peter's Isle*. Town of, journey thither from Basle, I. 173—183. description of the town; government, 184—186. revenues, 185. language, 186. receives subsidies from France, 209.
- Bionasay*, a village, II. 121.
- Birs*, river; its source, I. 160—181.
- Biveronius*, see *Tutschet*.
- Bochart*, the Swiss antiquary, II. 192, 193.
- Boden See*, or superior lake of Constantine, I. 17, 18.
- Bois*, glacier of, II. 114.
- Bonadutz*, village, III. 213.
- Bondo*, village, III. 87.
- Bonivard*, prior of St. Victor, II. 199. founds the public library at Geneva, III. 7.
- Bonnet*, Charles, of Geneva, account of him and his works, III. 8, 9.
- Bonneville*, the capital of Faucigny; II. 184.
- Bonstet*, M. de, I. 105. 114.
- Borgo nuovo*, village of, III. 94.
- Bormio*, mountains, III. 112. county of; government; revenue; religion; town of; spirit of freedom, 128—139.
- Borromeo*, San Carlo, his colossal statue, III. 330.
- Bosson*, glacier of, II. 107—123.
- Boudri*, town of, II. 215.
- Bouquetin*, or mountain-goat; description and natural history of the, II. 163—179. list of authors who have described this animal, 180, 181.
- Bourguillon*, a gate of Friburgh, II. 270.
- Bourrit*, Mr. his attempt to reach the summit of Mont Blanc, II. 121. accompanies Mr. de Saussure, 122.
- Bouveresse*, a village, II. 238.
- Brail*, a village, III. 111.
- Bralio*, mountain, III. 127. passage over, 130.
- Brattelen*, plain of, battle fought there, I. 161.
- Brege*, river, I. 2.
- Breithorn*, mountain, II. 45, 46. 372.
- Breitlavinien*, glacier, II. 372.
- Brenet*, lake of, II. 209.
- Bribach*, river, I. 2.
- Brientz*, lake of, II. 151.
- Brieg*, one of the dixains in the Val-lais, II. 60.
- Brot*, a village, II. 338.
- Broye*, river, II. 249. Roman inscription upon a bridge across the, III. 1.
- Brunnen*, village, I. 239. treaty of, 246.
- Buckeberg*, a protestant bailliage in Soleure, I. 194.
- Bulle*, town, the insurgents of Gruyeres met there, II. 281.
- Bunds-president*. See *Coire*.

I N D E X.

Buel, Mr. Austrian envoy at Reichenau, III. 214.

C.

Calendar, mountain, III. 218.

Calvin, John, the reformer, his character, III. 4—6.

Campel, Huldric, his valuable work upon the Grisons, III. 113, 114. account of him and his works, 114—117. version of the Psalms, 303.

Canale vecchio, III. 79.

Cappel, battle of, I. 75. 215.

Carmagnola, an Italian general, III. 321.

Casaccia, village, III. 94.

Cast Segna, a village, III. 87.

Castellaz, John Nicolas Andrew, a leader of the insurgents of Gruyeres, II. 280. & seq. his flight, 287.

Catzis, village, III. 210.

Calerina, plain of, III. 96.

Cenero, mountains, III. 326.

Cepino, valley of, III. 131—140. village, *ibid.*

Cerlier, castle, II. 244.

Cernetz, in lower Engadina, III. 112.

Chatillard, a town on the lake of Geneva, II. 196.

Chablais, II. 184.

Chaluet, a glen near Munster, I. 179—181.

Chamber, secret. See government of Friburgh.

Chamois, an animal in the Alps, I. 302, 303.

Chamouny, valley of, II. 100. glaciers of, 107. & seq.

Charbonniers, village, 209.

Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, besieges Morat and is defeated, II. 252. his imprudent wars with the Swiss, 253. & seq. is slain in

the battle of Nancy, 258. consequences of his death to Switzerland, 259.

Charles le Gros, relics of, I. 13. history of, *ibid.*

Charles the VIIth of France, treaty with him, I. 164.

La Chaux de Fond, a village, II. 221. See *Locle*.

Chenaux, Peter Nicolas, a leader of the insurgents at Gruyeres, II. 280, & seq. flies to Tour de la Treme, 282. advances to Posieux, 283. retires, *ib.* taken, 287. and killed, *ibid.*

Chene, a village, II. 184.

Chiappinus impeaches Rusca, III. 207. See *Rusca*.

Chiavenna, lake of, III. 83. town of; history and government; situation, population, and commerce; curiosities in the environs, 189—192.

Chillon, castle of, II. 199.

Choiseul's folly. See *Versoi*.

Churwalden, district, III. 234.

Cimut, village, III. 260.

Clarens. See *Chatillard*.

Clarice, village, III. 78.

Closter, village, III. 240.

Cluse, town of, II. 184.

Clusette, a pass in Neufchatel, II. 238.

Cœuvres, Marquis de, his history, III. 113.

Cogne, valley of, II. 165.

Coire, town of, III. 218. history; government; ceremony of administering the oaths to the *Bundspresident*; bishopric; rights of the bishops; cathedral, 219, 220.

Col de Balme, mountain, II. 100.

Collico, town, III. 79.

Colloquia, assemblies of the protestant Grison clergy, III. 267.

I N D E X.

- Colossus*, an extraordinary inaccessible, on mount Pilate, I. 230.
- Comines*, Philip de, his account of the effects of the defeat of Charles the Bold upon his mind, II. 257.
- Como*, town of, III. 74. lake of, 76—79.
- Confederacy*, Helvetic, I. 122—128. & *passim*; table of the cantons composing it, and the quota of troops to be furnished by each, III. 334.
- Congress*, of the three Grison leagues, III. 249—253.
- Constance*, inferior lake of, I. 12. bishop of; city of; history; chamber of council; improvements made by the Genevans; superior lake of, 13—17.
- Cormayor*, valley of, II. 165.
- Corrandelin*, village, I. 175. iron foundery there, *ibid.* treaty of, 177.
- Corsier*, a village in the Pays de Vaud, II. 194.
- Corvi*, crows, different species in Switzerland, II. 364.
- Cote, la*, a mountain near Mont Blanc, II. 123.
- Cotton* manufactory. See *Appenzel*, *Basle*, &c.
- Coujouvaux*, seat of Count Diesbach, II. 250.
- Courtelari*, residence of the Bishops of Basle, I. 183.
- Couteran*, Monsieur, his attempt to reach the summit of Mont Blanc, II. 120.
- Coutet*, Marie, a guide, his various expeditions to Mont Blanc, II. 113. 120, 121.
- Couvercle*, an extraordinary rock, II. 112.
- Couvret* a village, in the valley of Travers, II. 238.
- Crampons*, iron spikes fixed to the shoes to facilitate the passage of the ice, II. 108. 114.
- Craffi*, a village, II. 184.
- Crossbow*, still in use in Switzerland, I. 244.
- Cully*, a town, II. 193.
- ## D.
- Dacio*, village, III. 83. 318.
- Dala*, river, II. 54. 60.
- Danube*, source of the, I. 2.
- Dauben See*, a lake upon mount Gemmi, II. 53.
- Davos*, district, III. 235. government, 236.
- Delebio*, town, III. 181.
- Delmont*, valley and town, I. 173, 174.
- Dent*, valley, II. 165.
- Le Dent de Jamant*, II. 199.
- Dents Rouges*, mountains, II. 369.
- Dietrichstein*, Count, lord of Trasp, III. 118.
- Diesbach*, Count, II. 250.
- Diesma*, valley, III. 236.
- Diessenhofen*, town, I. 12.
- Disentis*, abbot of, III. 200. 202. high jurisdiction of; abbey of; village, 257, 258.
- Dixains*, topical divisions of the Valais, II. 61.
- Domasio*, town of, III. 79.
- Domo d'Oscella*, town plundered by the Swiss, III. 321.
- Donat*, village, III. 204.
- Doneschingen*, I. 1, 2.
- Dopler*, Jerom, companion of Mr. Freygrabend in his expedition to the summit of mount Titlis, I. 262.
- Dorfbach*, a cataract, II. 5.
- Dou*, river, II. 237.
- Draba Pyrenaica*, a plant, I. 28.

I N D E X.

- Dranse*, river in the Vallais, II. 69. *Erasmus*, buried at Basle, I. 144.
Dratturas magnas, district in the his character, 145, 146.
country of the Grisons, III. 313. *D'Erlach*, Mr. advoyer of Berne, II.
Dreysspitze, mountain, II. 369. 284.
Droz, Jacquet, an ingenious me- *L'Eschaut*, glacier de, II. 117.
chanic, II. 223. *Eschlisimat*, a village in Entlibuch,
Drusus, camp of, III. 103, 104. I. 233, 234.

E.

- Ebenfluh*, mountain, II. 372.
Echalens, bailliage, II. 212.
Egerhorn, mountain, II. 41.
Egeri, a district in canton Zug, I. 216.
Einsiedlen, or *Notre Dame des Her-*
mites, abbey of, I. 62—67.
Elizabeth, empress, founds the con-
vent of Kœnigsfelden, I. 135—139.
Eloise, la nouvelle of Rousseau, II.
197.
Embs, village, III. 213. 215.
Emerald, curious, at Reichenau, I. 13.
Emmen, river, I. 235.
Emmenthal, valley, I. 231. & seq. II. 386.
Engadina, UPPER, III. & seq. con-
stitution, 203—107.. description of
the valley and its inhabitants, 108-
110. LOWER, 110, & seq. re-
formation brought about by a sin-
gular circumstance, 114—116. con-
stitution, 119. country and inhabit-
ants, 129, 130.
Engelberg, abbey of, I. 257. moun-
tain of, government of the abbey
and adjacent country; revenues
of the abbot; journey from thence
to Altorf, 258—267.
Enkeberg, mountain, I. 266.
Entle, river in Entlibuch, I. 233.
Entlibuch, valley of, I. 231. its ex-
tent; government; description; in-
habitants; peculiar customs, 233-
235. *Exchaquet*, Mr. II. 111, 112.

F.

- Fasch*, Monsieur, his collection of
pictures, I. 151.
Faido, town of, III. 319.
Fait, a torrent formerly, now dry,
III. 95, 96.
Falun, river, II. 212.
Farel, William, a Genevan reformer,
III. 4.
Fatzerol, village, III. 234.
Faucigny, duchy of, II. 105.
Faulblatten, mountain, I. 263.
Felix the Fifth, the antipope. See
Amadeus the Eighth.
Feudo, rocks of the, I. 273, 274.
mountain, 278.
Finsteraarhorn, mountain, I. 298. 301.
II. 375.
Flasch, III. 243.
Fleurier, increase of population in
the valley of, II. 238.
Flims, town, III. 254.
Flola, valley, III. 240.
Flue, St. Nicholas de, I. 252. church
dedicated to him; his history;
brings about the treaty of Mantz;
superstitious account of his having
lived without sustenance, 250—255.
Fluellen, a place on the lake of Uri,
I. 244.

- Fontana merla*, a small stream in Upper Engadina, III. 102.
- Forest*, the black, I. 2.
- Franci*, a rich family at Plurs, III. 85.
- Francis*, friar, resident upon mount St. Gothard, I. 277. information received from him, 278, 279.
- Frauenfeld*, diet of, I. 34. 122.
- Fredolfo*, torrent, III. 137.
- Freyberg*, mountains, I. 43.
- Freygrabend*, Mr. his expedition to the summit of Mount Titlis, I. 262-265.
- Friburgh*, town and history of, II. 267. situation, buildings and inhabitants; bishop of; population of the town and canton; government as existing in 1776; insurrection of the inhabitants of Gruyeres; inquiry into the grievances complained of by the insurgents; new troubles; final pacification; regulations in consequence thereof; produce of the canton, 267—298.
- Froideville*, lieutenant, attacks the besiegers of Friburgh, II. 285.
- Frutigen*, valley of, I. 52.
- Fuentes*, fort of, III. 80—82.
- Furba*, valley of, III. 131.
- Furca*, journey to the, I. 286—288. glacier of the, 289. 297, 298. passage of the, 297.
- Fürst*, Walter, of Uri, assists in planning the revolution, which established the Helvetic Confederacy, I. 246.
- Fürstenberg*, prince of, I. 2.

G.

- Gabriel*, Stephen, translator of the liturgy of Zurich into Romanish, III. 269. 305.
- Galleberg*, mountain, part of the Furca, I. 297.
- Gallen*, St. I. 20. abbot and town of, 21. history and government, *ibid.* library, 22.
- Gallicius*. See *Salutz*.
- Gamschigletscher*, II. 373.
- Ganterish*, a mountain, II. 368.
- Garville*, Mr. II. 250.
- Gaster*, valley of, II. 373.
- Gemmi*, mountain, II. 53. passage over, 53, 54. 374.
- Geneva*, journey to, II. 180. lake of, 200. — Situation of the town, III. 2. population; reformation in religion; learning and education of the inhabitants; public library; account of learned Genevans; history down to 1776; constitution and government; revenue; penal laws; code of civil law; public granary, fortifications, and defence; history of the revolution in 1782; and diffusion of its causes; changes effected in the constitution, 3—50.
- Genevan* establishment in Ireland, its failure, III. 53.
- Gengenbach*, an imperial town, I. 2.
- Gerisau*, town and republic of, I. 239.
- Gertrude*, Ann, of Hohenburgh, wife of the emperor Rhodolph the First, buried at Basle, I. 144. strange mistake regarding her name, *ibid.*
- Gesellschaften*, or companies, I. 154.
- Gesner*, Conrad, account of him, I. 89.
- Gesner*, John, I. 95. his cabinet of natural curiosities, 95, 96. botanical works, 96, 97.
- Gesner*, Solomon, character and account of him, I. 89.

I N D E X.

- Glaciers*, conjectures on the formation and state of, II. 128.
- Glaris*, canton of, I. 38 — 43. history, *ibid.* religion, 40, 41. government, 41. 47. trade, 42. valleys in the canton, 43 — 45. houses, 46. police, 47. receives subsidies from France, 209.
- Gletscherberg*, mountain, I. 289.
- Giacomo*, St. valley of, III. 192.
- Giornico*, victory of, III. 319.
- Girtanner*, Dr. his account of the bouquetin, II. 164.
- Gites*, pastures near the foot of the Alps, II. 298.
- God's-house*, league of, history and constitution, III. 216. union with the two other Grison leagues, 246.
- Goitres*, excrescences of the throat, common in the Vallais, &c. II. 64. causes of the disorder, 74 — 81.
- Goms*, one of the dixains in the Vallais, II. 60.
- Gothard*, St. valley of, I. 273. mountain, its height, 276. account of its extent by Friar Francis, 277. weather on the mountain, 278, 279.
- Graffen-ort*, a villa of the abbot of Engelberg, I. 257.
- Granite*, of the Swiss mountains, II. 367.
- Granson*, town of, II. 215. taken by assault by Charles the Bold, 257.
- Greiffen*, lake of, I. 114. village, *ib.*
- Grens*, a place near Morat, II. 250.
- Grey*, Lady Jane, her letters to Bullinger, I. 99.
- Grey League*, territory of the, III. 198. etymology of the appellation, 199. history and governments, 200. union with the two other Grison Leagues, 246.
- Grindelwald*, village, II. 41. glaciers, 41, 42. 135.
- Griesenbach*, a rivulet, I. 259.
- Grimfel*, mountain, I. 293. inn upon the road over the, 294, 295. its summit, 299.
- Grisons*. See *Leagues*.
- Grosshorn*, mountain, II. 45, 46.
- Goteron*, valley and rivulet, II. 270, 271.
- Grubenman*, Ulric, builds the famous bridge at Schaffhausen, I. 8. born at Tuffen, 26. his nephew, 27. builds the bridge at Wettingen, 130. other bridges built by the Grubenmans, III. 215.
- Grunengen*, a small burgh, I. 111. jurisdiction, 112.
- Gruner*, his theory of the glaciers, II. 128.
- Gruti*, village, I. 241.
- Gruyeres*, insurrection of, II. 279, 280. excellent cheese made there, 298.
- Guglielmo*, St. the Norman, church of, III. 193.
- Guler*, the historian, account of him, III. 237, 238.
- Guidet*, Francis, his expedition to Mont Blanc, II. 121.
- Gurten*, village, II. 367.

H.

- Haldenstein*, village and castle, history of, III. 227.
- Haller* resides at La Roche, II. 201. biographical and literary anecdotes of him, 321 — 357.
- Hapsburgh*, castle of, I. 132. history of, 135. note.
- John de, I. 135 — 137.
- Rhodolph de. See *Rhodolph*.

I N D E X

- Hasliand*, a district in canton the Berne, II. 4. inhabitants, *ibid.*
- Hedlinger*, Mr. his collection of medals, I. 240.
- Henzenberg*, mountain, III. 210.
- Hergott*, the genealogist, I. 144.
- Herisau*, a village in Appenzel, I. 25.
- Herman*, Abbé, I. 191.
- Heydegger*, Mr. de, his library, I. 101.
- Hindelbank*, village, II. 379.
- Hochgericht*. See *Drattura*.
- Hohalp*, veins of lead discovered there, II. 370.
- Holbein*, the painter, I. 148. account of his paintings, and drawings at Basle, 148—150.
- Hopital*, a village in the valley of Urseren, I. 272.
- Hottinger*, Henry collects the library of Zurich, I. 100.
- Houses*, their construction in the mountainous part of Switzerland, II. 8.
- Houfli*, mountain, II. 5.
- Howard*, Mr. the effect of his visit to the house of correction at Berne, II. 307.
- Huber*, endeavours to reach the colossus of mount Pilate, and is dashed to pieces, I. 230.
- Hufs*, John, sufferings of, I. 14—16.
- Hutten*, his life and character, I. 110, III.
- Jenatsch*, village, III. 240.
- Jennins*, III. 243.
- Jetzler's*, Mr. description of the bridge at Schaffhausen, I. 8. note.
- Ilants*, town, of, III. 254.
- Illankin*. See *Trout*.
- Imier*, St. or *Erguel*, valley of, I. 183.
- Inn*, river, its source, III. 94. 101. 110. 123.
- Interlachen*, valley, II. 369.
- Joux*, valley and lake, II. 208. castle, 237.
- Irnis*. See *Giornico*.
- Ifola Bella*, an island, III. 329.
- Ifola*, a village, III. 197.
- Julimont*, an insulated hill near Neufchatel, II. 244.
- Julian Columns*, III. 98, 99.
- Alps, III. 98, 99. lake, *ibid.*
- Jungfrau-horn*, mountain, I. 298. II. 39. note. 371.
- Jura*, ridge of mountains, extremity of, I. 183. its extent, II. 208. excursion to its summit, 221.
- Juvalta*, author of the code of laws in Engadina, III. 107. his account of the venality of the Grison governments, 162. note.

K.

- ### J and I.
- James*, St. hospital of, I. 160. battle fought there, *ibid.* causes and history of the war, 160—165. annual commemoration of the battle, 165.
- Idiocy*, common in the Vallais, II. 65. probable cause of, 81—83.
- Kander*, valley and mountain, II. 52.
- Kandersteg*, II. 51, 52.
- Kasten*, lake of, I. 116.
- Kehl*, fortress, I. 1.
- Keith*, Lord, governor of Neufchatel, protects Rousseau, II. 239. & *seq.*
- Kernwald*, boundary of Ober and Unterwalden, I. 256.
- Kieman*, promontory of, I. 229. as represented in General Pfiffer's model, *ibid.*

- Kinsing*, valley of, I. 2. river, *ib.*
Kirchfluh, mountain, II. 369.
Köhlin, Mr. his commercial school at Mülhausen, I. 167.
Königsfelden, convent, I. 136—138.
Kublis, village of, III. 240.
Küssnach, a village near Zurich, I. 105. damaged by a flood, *ibid.* population, 106.
Küssnacht, a village in canton Schweitz, I. 217.
Kyburgh and *Groningen*, bailifs of, I. 81. castle of Kyburgh, 120. history, 121, 122. description and situation, 122.
- L.
- Laburnum* tree, II. 202.
Lagerberg, mountain, I. 116. view from, 117, 118.
Laitsch, town, III. 125.
Lambat, James, his expedition to Mont Blanc, II. 122.
Landsgemeind, of Glaris, I. 41.
Langhans, Madame, her tomb, II. 379.
Langnau, village, II. 381.
Lanquart, river, III. 240.
Larch-tree, its great utility, II. 203.
Latreysfirst, mountain, II. 369.
Lavater, J. Caspar, I. 92—94. his character and works, *ibid.*
Laubergrat, mountain, I. 262.
Laveno, burgh, III. 329.
Lavezzi, stone pots made near Chiavenna, III. 86.
Lauffen, cataract of the Rhine, I. 4. 9—11. castle, 10. valley and town, 173, 174.
Lauffenburgh, I. 140. cataract at that place, *ibid.*
Lausanne, its population; situation; academy of sciences; and church, II. 186. & *seq.*
Lauteraarhorn, mountain, I. 301. II. 366. 376.
Lauterbrunnen, valley of, journey thither, II. 43. situation, *ibid.* village, 44. glacier, 45—48. 370.
Lautrec, a French general, I. 64.
Leagues, the three Grison, their union, III. 246. their history; general idea of their courts of justice, religion, revenues, and population; commerce; foreign alliances; language, 247—286. Their subdivisions, 313—316.
Lecco, a branch of the lake of Como, III. 79.
Leislingen, village, II. 52.
Lengenberg, a mountain, II. 369.
Lenzburgh, Bernhard de, bishop of Friburgh, II. 272.
Leopold, duke of Austria, invades Lucerne, I. 218. is slain in the battle of Sempach, *ibid.*
Lera, lower, valley of, III. 240.
Levade, Mr. Roman antiquities in his possession, II. 192.
Levantine, valley, III. 317, 318.
Leugelbach, village, I. 44.
Leuk, baths of, II. 54—56 town, 60, 61.
Lichen Rangiferinus, I. 302.
 — *Rupestis*, II. 127. *Sulphureus*, *ibid.*
Lichtenstein, castle near Haldenstein, III. 229.
Liepitz, a kind of honey extracted by the Poles from the lime-tree. See *Lime*.
Ligario, Pietro, the painter, anecdotes of him, III. 177.

- Ligertz*, Baron de, canon of Arlesheim, I. 172.
- Lime-tree*, a large, near Morges, II. 186. account of several others, 187.
- Limmat*, river, I. 37. navigation dangerous, 129, 130.
- Linth*, river, I. 37. 43-45.
- Lira*, torrent, III. 192. 197, 198.
- Livino*, village, III. 325.
- Locarno*, lake, III. 323. town, *ibid.* bailliage, 324.
- Locendro*, glacier of, I. 273. lake of, 275.
- Locle*, a village; its industry and population, II. 222.
- Luc*, Mr. de, his improvement of the methods of ascertaining the heights of mountains, II. 103, 104. account of him, his works, and his cabinet, III. 11.
- Lucerne*, lake of, I. 218. 238. history of the canton; government; residence of the pope's nuncio; annual diet of the Catholic cantons; state of learning; population and produce of the canton; description of the town, 218-224.
- Lucens*, castle, III. 2.
- Lucius*, St. convent of, at Coire, III. 225.
- Ludlow*, Edmund, his residence at Vevay; his character, II. 195.
- Lugano*, town, III. 326, 327. lake, 327.
- Lugnetz*, valley of, III. 202.
- Lutschine*, weifs and schwartz, two rivers in the valley of Lauterbrunnen, II. 47.
- Lugin*, mountain, III. 94.
- Lungnetz*, mountain, I. 289.
- Lutry*, a town in the Pays de Vaud, II. 193.
- Luvino*, valley of, III. 131.
- Luvino*, the painter, III. 325.
- M.**
- Mably*, Abbé de, his error in regard to the Helvetic confederacy, I. 124. note.
- Machaleb*-cherry, II. 202.
- Madulein*, village, III. 101.
- Magadino*, town of, III. 326.
- Maggia*, a torrent, III. 325.
- Magland*, a waterfal, II. 183.
- Maira*, a torrent, III. 84. 94.
- Malantz*, town of, III. 241.
- Malaria*, bad air on the borders of lake Como, III. 79.
- Malenco*, torrent, III. 176. valley, 187.
- Malin*, glacier, III. 94.
- Malix*, village, III. 234.
- Mallet*, Paul Henry, of Geneva, III. 11.
- Mallogia*, mountain, III. 94.
- Mals*, town, III. 125.
- Malters*, a village, I. 235.
- Marignano*, battle of, II. 63.
- Mark*, St. mountain of, road proposed to be made over it, III. 280.
- Marmot*, an animal, I. 294. description and natural history of, III. 89-93.
- Martigny*, a village in the Vallais, II. 68. See *Ostodurum*.
- Martin*, St. baths of, III. 129.
- bridge, III. 122. the author's reception by an old woman of that place, *ibid.* account of her adventures, 122, 123.
- Martinet*, Mr. Mayor of Travers, II. 239.
- Marzozzo*, bay of, III. 329.
- Masox*, Counts of, III. 200.

I N D E X.

- Maffie*, village, II. 379.
- Maurice*, St. town in the Vallais, II. 70.
- Maximin*, emperor, orders the Theban legion to be massacred. See *St. Maurice*.
- Mayenfeld*, high jurisdiction of, III. 241. government and history, *ib.* & seq.
- Mayoria*, a rock at Sion in the Vallais, I. 66.
- Mechel*, an ingenious engraver at Basle, I. 150.
- Medels*, valley of, III. 258.
- Meile*, a village near Zurich, I. 107.
- Meillerie*, rocks of, II. 198.
- Meinau*, island and castle of, I. 17.
- Meinrad*, St. founder of Einsiedlen-abbey, I. 63, 64.
- Meister*, Leonhard, I. 94. 105.
- Melchthal*, Arnold de, of Unterwalden, assists in planning the revolution, which established the liberty of Switzerland, I. 246.
- Melkleberg*, mountain, I. 359.
- Meltbach*, a rivulet near Engelberg, I. 359.
- Mendrisio*, bailliage, III. 75.
- Mettenberg*, mountain, II. 41. 345.
- Meuron*, Mr. of Neufchatel, II. 244.
- Meutzingen*, a district in canton Zug, I. 216.
- Meyen*, valley of, I. 269.
- Meyer*, Mr. of Lucerne, I. 251—265.
- Meyringen*, capital of Hasliland, II. 4, 5.
- Millebach*, a cascade, II. 6.
- Mittaghorn*, mountain, II. 372.
- Moitier Travers*, temporary residence of Rousseau, II. 239—241.
- Molasses*, argillaceous stones, found in the plains and hills near Berne, II. 367.
- Mole*, mountain, III. 3.
- Molleray*, town, I. 181.
- Molina*, hot springs, III. 130.
- Montanvert*, glacier, II. 107. 113. 133.
- Mont Blanc*, its appearance at a distance, II. 101. various attempts to reach its summit, 120.
- Moraine*, the earth and stone disgorged by the glaciers, II. 114.
- Morat*, bailliage of, II. 249. lake, *ib.* Charles the Bold defeated in the battle of Morat, 252.
- Morbegno*, town of, III. 180.
- Morezzo*, St. lake of, III. 96. village *ibid.* See *St. Maurice*.
- Morgarten*, straits of, I. 247. defeat of the emperor Albert there, *ib.*
- Morges*, town, II. 186.
- La Motte*, island. See *St. Peter*.
- Moudon*, burgh, III. 2.
- Moulin de la Motte* at Friburgh, II. 270.
- Mülhausen*, a small republic in the Helvetic Confederacy, I. 267. history; manufactories, and government, *ibid.*
- Munster*, in the Vallais, I. 292.
- or *Moitier*, valley of, I. 176. division; constitution, and history, 176—178. village, 180.
- in the Grisons, valley and town, III. 125. government, 126.
- Muotta*, valley of, I. 229. extraordinary instance of mutual confidence in the inhabitants, *ibid.*
- Muret*, mountain, III. 187.
- Musa*, torrent, III. 323.
- Musingen*, near Berne, II. 367.

N.

- Näfels*, battle of, I. 39, 40.
- Nahl*, the sculptor, II. 379.

Nauders, village, III. 124.
Naviglio Grande, a canal joining the Po and the Adda, III. 331.
Neufchatel, lake of, II. 215. town; population; government, history, constitution, and laws, 217—236.
Neunegg, hermitage near, II. 301.
Neunerer, a mountain, II. 368.
Neuville, a town on the lake of Biemme, II. 244.
Nidau, town of, I. 148.
Niefs, a mountain, II. 368. 378.
Noirague, a village, II. 238.
Nolla, torrent, III. 206.
Nollen, the summit of Mount Titlis, I. 263.
Norman, kings of Sicily, their history, and genealogy, III. 193. 196.
Nyon, a town in the Pays de Vaud, II. 185.

O.

Obergestlen, village, I. 292.
Oberried, village, I. 32.
Oberwald, a village upon the Furca, I. 291.
Oberwalden, a division of the canton Unterwalden, I. 251.
Oëtodurum. See *Martigny*.
Oeschengrat, heights of, II. 373.
Offenburgh, an imperial town, I. 2.
Olten, a town in Soleure, I. 193, 194.
Orbe, river, II. 209. town, 210—212.
Orlenga, torrent, III. 94.
Osterwald, Mr. his account of the introduction of watch-making in Locle and La Chaux de Fond, II. 224.
Offogna, a village, III. 320.
Oswald, St. tutelary saint of Zug, I. 217.

P.

Paccard, Michael, a guide of Chamouny, II. 113. 120.
 ——— Dr. his expedition to the summit of Mont Blanc, II. 123, 124.
Palanza, burgh, III. 329.
Pantenbruck, a bridge in Glaris, I. 45.
Pays de Vaud, enchanting scenes in the, II. 185. wrested from Savoy by the canton Berne, 186. general account of the country, 180—207. subject to Berne, 304.
Payerne, town of, III. 1.
Pedinosa, valley of, III. 131.
Pennant, David, Esq. his letter upon the Italian bailliages, III. 317—332.
Perretti, Bartholomew, of Berbeno, saves the Protestants of that place from a general massacre, III. 152.
Perini, Mr. III. 105.
Peter, St. valley of, in the Grisons, III. 202.
Peter, St. island of; Rousseau retires thither; the author's excursion to the island, II. 243. description, 244. See *Rousseau*.
Petina, mountain, I. 275.
Pfeffers, village, III. 243. baths, 243, 244.
Pfeffikon, lake of, I. 112.
Pfiffer, general, his curious model of part of Switzerland, I. 224—227.
Pholades, a species of petrification, II. 369.
Physics, society for the cultivation of, Zurich, I. 97, 98.
Piantedio, district, III. 80.
Pierre Pertuis, a celebrated pass, I. 181. Roman inscription there, 182.
Pietists, a religious sect, their progress in Engadina, III. 27.

Filate, Mount, near Lucerne, I. 226.

229. 238.

Pisse Vache, a cataract in the Vallais, II. 69, 70.

Piuro. See *Plurs*.

Pirone, the architect, I. 190.

Planta, family of, III. 103. their disputes with the *Defalis*'s, 121.

Pliniana, village, III. 76. curious spring there, 76—78.

Pliny, the younger, III. 74. See *Camo*.

Plurs, destroyed by the fall of Mount Conto, III. 85—86.

Podesta, a Grison magistrate, III. 89. 133. *Et passim*.

Polegio, a village, III. 319.

Pont, a village, II. 209.

Ponte alta, a bridge in Engadina, III. III.

Pontarlier, a town in Burgundy, II. 237.

Pont Tremolo, or trembling bridge, III. 318.

Ponto, a village, III. 101.

Porentru, principality of, the residence of the bishops of Basle, I. 152. 168. government, 170. population, *ibid.* city, 170.

Porto, village, III. 328.

Pregalia, valley of, III. 88. government, 88, 89. 94.

Premaglia, valley of, III. 129.

Pretigau, valley of, III. 240.

Promontogno, village, III. 94.

Prosa, village, I. 278.

Provisions, their price in the mountainous parts of Switzerland, II. 6, 7.

Pury, Mr. David, beautifies the town of Neufchatel, II. 218. his history and splendid donations to his native country, 219. remarks on their application, 220.

R.

Rallingen, a place near the lake of Thun, II. 368.

Ramo, torrent, III. 127.

Ranunculus glacialis, a plant, II. 113.

Ranft, hermitage of St. Nicholas de Flue, I. 253.

Rapperschwyl, bridge of, I. 67. town, *ibid.* history and government, 68. convent at, 71. 110.

Raren, one of the dixains of the Vallais, II. 61.

Realp, a village in the valley of Urferen, I. 272. 287.

Regensberg, old and new, I. 116. history; situation, *ibid.* 117.

Reichenau, island of, I. 12.

—— town and valley, III. 214, 215.

Reichenbach, a river supposed to convey gold-dust into the bed of the Aar, I. 296. fall of the, II. 36. source, *ibid.*

Remus, village, III. 119. castle, *ib.*

Renz des vaches, a favorite air of the Swiss, its effects, I. 301. II. 216.

Retzuns, barons of, III. 200, 201. village, 210. revenues, 212. castle, *ib.* barony, 212, 213.

Reuss, river, I. 132, 223. 269—271, 276. its source, 274, 275.

—— a river in Neufchatel, II. 238.

Rhatia, ancient history of that country, III. 211.

Rhatzuns, See *Retzuns*.

Rheinfelden, rapidity of the Rhine there, I. 141.

Rheinthal. See *Rhine*.

Rheinwald, valley of, III. 202.

Rhine, river, fall at Lauffen, I. 9. II. forms the Zeller See, 12. valley of the Rhine or Rheinthal, 31, 32.

2112

3112

3112

2112

2112

211

3112

3112

3112

2112

2112

2112

3112

3112

3112

I N D E X.

- source of, 275. principal sources, III. 260.
Rhine, Hinder, its source, III. 202.
 — *Little*, its source, III. 100.
Rhodolph, count of Hapsburgh, I. 134.
 sketch of his achievements, *ibid.*
 remarks upon his character and
 fame, 135. a wooden statue of him
 at Basle, 151.
Rhone, source of the, I. 275. 290. 298,
 299. II. 60. 73.
Richard, Daniel John, introduces
 watchmaking in Locle, II. 224.
Richliswick, a town near Zurich, I.
 108, 109.
Rigi, mountain in Lucerne, I. 229.
Rihimer, major, succours Friburgh,
 II. 284, & seq.
Ripaille, a palace of Amadeus the
 Eighth, II. 190.
Riva, Marquis de, his palace at Lu-
 gano, III. 327.
 — village, III. 83.
Robustelli, his conspiracy, III. 149.
Rochat, a name common to most of
 the inhabitants of the valley of
 Joux, II. 209.
Roche, la, the residence of Haller,
 II. 201.
 — la, a village on the river Birs,
 I. 179.
Roman and Meilly, Genevans settled
 at Constance, I. 15.
Romansh, language, III. 203, 204.
 289. & seq.
Roncalia, village, III. 206.
Roshach, a small burgh, I. 21.
Rupicapra. See *Chamois*.
Rosengarten. See *Soleure*.
Rosenlavi, glacier, II. 39.
Rossier, Henry, takes P. N. Chenaux
 prisoner, II. 286, 287.
Roussseau, Jean Jacques, his residence
 at Moitier Travers; his mode of
 living there; singular obstinacy;
 extreme sensibility; obliged to quit
 Moitier Travers; retires to St. Pe-
 ter's isle: his mode of living there;
 II. 239 — 247.
Rusca, Nicolas, of Sondrio, killed
 by the Grisons, III. 194. See *His-
 tory of the Valteline*. Account of
 him, 206. & seq.
Ruti, waterfal, at the village of, I.
 43.
Rux, valley of, II. 222.
- ## S.
- Salenche*, town and lake of, II. 181.
Saletz, a village, I. 30. journey
 from thence, 32.
Saleve, mountain, III. 3.
Salis, de, family, their disputes with
 the Planta's, III. 121.
 — Count de, his villa in Pregalia,
 III. 87.
 — Rodolph de, baron of Halden-
 stein, III. 227.
 — Mr. of Marschlins, institutes
 a seminary of literature among the
 Grisons, III. 230.
Salla, mountain, I. 278.
Salmons, found in the Linth, I. 44.
Salodurense castrum, ancient name of
 Soleure, I. 189.
Saluth, a fish. See *Silurus glanis*.
Salutz, Philip, an early reformer
 among the Grisons, III. 302.
Saltzman, Leodigar, abbot of Engel-
 berg, I. 261.
Samada, a village, III. 101.
Sandbach, a waterfal in Glaris, I.
 45, 46.
Sane, river, II. 269. 291.

I N D E X.

- Sanf Sacramento*, village, III. 329.
Santa croce, valley of, III. 87.
 — *Maria*, village, III. 125.
Saphorin, St. village in the Pays de Vaud, II. 194. Roman milestone there, *ibid.* note.
Sargans, county of, III. 243.
 — a village, I. 32.
Sarne, the capital of Oberwalden; lake of, I. 251.
Satzberg, mountain, I. 289. cold and warm springs there, 298.
Saussure, Mr. de, his opinion of goitres, II. 78. his expedition to Mont Blanc; ascends to the summit, 122. account of him and his works; his cabinet, III. 9. 10.
Savarenche, valley of, II. 165.
Savonne, mountain, III. 86.
Sax, counts of, III. 200, 201.
Saxelen, a town in Unterwalden, I. 252.
Scampf, a burgh, III. 105.
Schadan, castle of, II. 378.
Schaffhausen, I. 3. description of, 4. history, *ibid.* government, 5. revenues, *ibid.* trade, 6. defence, *ibid.* bridge of, 6, 7.
Schakeren, valley of, I. 267.
Schams, valley of, III. 202. 204.
Schargenbach, torrent, III. 124.
Scharla, valley, III. 118.
Scheidek, mountain, II. 6. 36. passage of the Scheidek, 40. & seq. summit of the, *ibid.* 376.
Schiers, village, III. 240.
Schilthorn, mountain, II. 369.
Schinner, Cardinal Matthew, bishop of Sion, I. 62. his history, 62—64.
Schintznach, baths of, I. 132.
Schnabelhorn, mountain, II. 369.
Schællenen, valley, I. 269—271.
Schreckhorn, mountain, I. 298. II. 40. 366. 375.
Schuepfen, a village, I. 232.
Schuppach, Michael, the physician, II. 381. account of his fame, skill and success, 381—386.
Schwartzberg, mountain, II. 369.
Schwartzzenburgh, chain of mountains running from thence to Vevay and Aigle, II. 298. 368.
Schwartzwald, glacier, II. 39.
Schweighauser, John George, his epitaph, I. 157.
Schweitz, canton, entrance of the, I. 217. lake of, 238. town, 239. history of the canton, 245, & seq. government, 247, 248. population, 248. soil and manners of the inhabitants, 249. intolerance in religion, *ibid.*
Schweitzerhaken, two singular rocks, I. 239.
Schweitzerland, or Swisserland, origin of the name, I. 247. its independence finally acknowledged, 248.
Scul, a village, III. 118.
Seckingen, convent of, I. 38.
Seelisberg, mountain, I. 241.
Sesinen alps, II. 369.
Seduni. See Sion.
Sella, la, lake of, I. 275.
Selva Piana, lake of, III. 95. town, 96.
Selva, a village, III. 260.
Sempach, treaty of, I. 123. battle of, 218. remarkable instance of valor shown there, 219. lake of Sempach, 236. anniversary of the battle, *ibid.*
Senaire, mode of election at Basle, I. 154.

Sennebler, 

I N D E X.

- Sennebier*, Mr. of Geneva, III. 8. & *passim*.
- Sernft*, quarry of, I. 42. river, 43.
- Serra*, la, a pass, III. 140.
- Serriere*, la, river, II. 215.
- Servan*, a village in Vallais, inhabited by a people famous for hunting the bouquetin, II. 172.
- Servetus*, persecuted by Calvin, III. 5.
- Sesto*, a village, III. 331.
- Set*, mountain, III. 94.
- Sewils*, village, III. 228.
- Sichellavinen*, II. 371.
- Siders*, in Vallais, II. 60, 61.
- Sigismond* the Simple, his wars with the Helvetic Confederacy; his alliance with the republics, II. 253-256.
- Siglio*, village, III. 95. lake, *ibid*.
- Silene Acaulis*, II. 127.
- Silurus glanis*, a large fish, II. 250.
- Simler*, the Reverend Mr. his library, I. 100.
- Sinner*, Mr. of Berne, II. 309.
- Sion*, capital of the Vallais, II. 60. situation of the town, 66, 67.
- Sitler*, river, I. 25.
- Soleure*, journey to, I. 188. town of; antiquity of; history; description of the town; prison; public library; circumjacent country; canton of Soleure; religion; military establishment; government; revenue; distinction of ancient and new burghers; assembly of the burghers, or *rosengarten*; residence of the French ambassador to the Helvetic body; treaty between France and the thirteen cantons, 189—209.
- Sondalo*, village, III. 140.
- Sondrio*, massacre of the protestants there, III. 151. description of the town and adjacent country, 176.
- Sopra-selva*, valley of, III. 255.
- Spaelg*, torrent, III. 112.
- Spengler*, Mr. repairs Schaffhausen bridge, I. 8. note.
- Spitzstock*, mountain, I. 359.
- Splugen*, a village, III. 100. 102.
- mountain, 197. passage over, *ibid*.
- Sprecher*, Fortunatus, the historian, III. 238, 239. his account of the bouquetin, II. 165.
- Sprungli*, Mr. of Berne, his excellent collection of Swiss birds, II. 357, & *seq.* — 365.
- Staffach*, Werner de, of Schweitz, assists in planning the revolution which established the liberty of Switzerland, I. 246.
- Staldenfluh*, a calcareous stone, II. 371.
- Stampa*, village, III. 94.
- Stantz*, the capital of Unterwalden, its situation, I. 257. convention of, 123. 125. 254. treaty of brought about by Nicholas de Flue, 255.
- Stantzberg*, mountain, I. 256.
- Staubbach*, a cataract, II. 44, 45.
- Stein*, a small independent town, I. 12.
- Steinberg*, castle, III. 118.
- Stocher*, Conrad, companion to Mr. Freygrabend. See *Freygrabend*.
- Stockhorn*, mountain, II. 368.
- Straßburgh*, I. 1.
- Stuffstein*, glacier, II. 373.
- Suffers*, village, III. 203.
- Sulek*, mountain, II. 369.

INDEX.

Sulpice, St. village, II. 238.

Sure, river, I. 183.

Surecha, mountain, I. 278.

Suren alps, I. 359.

Surset, valley, III. 204.

Surzee, a town in Lucerne, I. 236.

Sus, a village, III. 118.

Smart-horn, mountain, III. 236.

Swiss-troops, first enlisted in the French service, I. 207. remarks upon their service in foreign powers, & seq.

Switzerland, general reflections upon its various laws and government, III. 66, & seq. See *Schweitzerland*.

T.

Tacu, glacier, II. 114—117.

Talefre, glacier, II. 112. 117.

Tamina, river, III. 244.

Tamins, town, III. 254.

Tauven, village, III. 125.

Tavannes, or *Dachfeld*, a village, I. 181.

Tavetch, community of, III. 258. valley of, 259.

Teglio, massacre of the Protestants there, III. 150. description of the town and adjacent country, 175, 176.

Tell, William, his chapel, I. 217. 241. doubts concerning the authenticity of his history, 242—244.

Ten jurisdictions, league of the, its history, III. 232—234. union with the two other leagues, 246.

Ternaire, mode of election at Basle, I. 154.

Terzero, di sopra, di mezza, and di sotto, governments of the *Val-teline*, III. 160.

Tesino, river, source of, I. 174. III. 318, & seq.

Tête Noire, la, mountain, II. 100.

Teufelsbrück, or Devil's Bridge, I. 271.

Thiele, river, II. 213. 249.

Thomas, St. lake of, III. 260.

Thun, lake of, II. 51. 369. town of, 378. road to, *ibid.* situation and government, *ibid.*

Thurgau, I. 122, & *passim*.

Tippet grebe, a bird, II. 201.

Tirano, capital of Upper *Terzero*, III. 141. fair held there, 142. massacre of the Protestants, 149.

Tissay, Victor, a guide, II. 120.

Tissot, the celebrated physician, II. 189.

Titlis, mountain, I. 260. See Mr. *Freygrabend*.

Tomliasca, valley, III. 206. 210.

Tophus. See *Tuf*.

Torrenberg, Count Peter of, oppresses the inhabitants of *Entlibuch*, I. 231.

Torrens, family of, II. 202.

Torture, still used in Switzerland, III. 70.

Tourbillion, a rock at *Sion* in the *Vallais*, II. 66.

Trasp, village and castle, III. 118.

Travers, John de, III. 299. his history, 299—302.

—— village, II. 237, 238.

Trezzo, canal of, III. 275.

Trient, a torrent in *Vallais*, II. 69. valley of, 72.

Trifa, river, III. 328.

Trivabach, village, I. 32.

I N D E X.

- Trogen*, a village in Appenzel, I. 25.
Trouadors, or jurymen in Engadina, III. 107.
Trout, description of a large species caught in the lakes of Switzerland, I. 13, 19.
Truns, diet of, III. 211. town, 255, 256.
Tryphon, St. castle of, II. 202.
Tscharner, Mr. bailiff of Avenches, II. 265.
Tuf, a calcareous substance, impregnating the water of the springs in those countries where *goitres* are common, II. 75—80.
Turnio, village, III. 76.
Turretini, Mr. Pictet, of Geneva, III. 11.
Tusis, village, III. 206.
Tutschet, James, a reformer among the Grisons, III. 302.
Tyrol, mountains of, I. 31.

U.

- Ufnau*, island of, I. 109, 110.
Undevil, a village in Appenzel, I. 25.
Unterseven, valley of, II. 369.
Unterwalden, canton of. See *Stantz* and *Uri*.
Uri, lake of, I. 240, romantic scenery of, *ibid.* history of Uri, Schweiz, Unterwalden; and Lucerne, 244. government, 247, 248. population, 248. soil and inhabitants, 249. intolerance in religion, *ibid.*
Urnerloch, a subterraneous passage, I. 271.
Urs, St. church of, at Soleure, I. 190. *Urseren*, valley of, 271. village of, 272. population and government, *ib.* description, 273. 287. III 260, 261.
Urstar, castle of, I. 113. history, 114.
Uttliberg, mountain, I. 82.

V.

- Valeria*, a rock at Sion in the Vallais, III. 66.
Vallais, I. 291. inhabitants, 292, 293. description of the country, II. 60. 72. constitution, 61, 62. history, *ibid.* manufacture, 73.
Vallengin, principality of; town of, II. 222. rights, laws, and constitution, 234—236.
Valmorara, III. 100.
Val sainte, convent, secularized, II. 280.
Valteline, or Valle Telina, III. 143. history of the, 143—159. massacre of the Protestants, 149—152. government and laws, 160—174. extreme venality of the magistrates, *ibid.* commerce, 182, 183. population, 183. productions, 184—186.
Varese, town, III. 328.
Vats, barons, III. 233.
Vaux, la, a district in the Pays de Vaud, II. 193.
Vegetation, idea of a scale of, I. 293.
Venel, Mr. a humane institution established by him, II. 211, 212.
Verfoy, a village, II. 184, 185.
Vevay, town in the Pays de Vaud, II. 194.
Via Mala, in the Grisons, III. 204, 205.
Vico Soprano, in Pregalia, III. 89. 94.

I N D E X.

Viescherhorn, mountain, II. 374.
Vigur, Monsieur de, III. 1.
Villeneuve, a town near the lake of Geneva, II. 200.
Vindonissa. See *Windish*.
Viret, Peter, a reformer at Geneva, III. 4.
Visp, one of the dixains in the Valais, II. 61.
Vogelsberg, mountain, III. 202.
Vuilly, mountain, II. 251.
Vultur barbatus, the bearded vulture, natural history of the, II. 357, & seq.

W.

Wald-nachtal, valley, I. 256.
Waldstätter see, or lake of the four cantons, I. 237.
Wallenstadt, town of, I. 34, 35. lake, 35, 36.
Wasen, village, I. 269.
Weddenschweil, a town near Zurich, I. 107. its history, *ibid.* population, *ibid.* remarkable waterfall near, 108.
Weissenstein, a chain of the Jura, I. 188.
Wengenalp, II. 371.
Werdenberg, counts of, III. 200, 201.
Wertzenburgh, castle of, I. 173.
Wertzenstein, a convent, I. 235.
Wetterhorn, mountain, I. 298. II. 6. 39. 375.
Wettingen, curious bridge, I. 130.
Windish, a village, anciently *Vindonissa*, I. 138.
Winke, a village near Lucerne, I. 251.

Winkelried, Arnold de, his extraordinary valor, I. 219.
Winterthur, town of, I. 118. history, 119. government, *ibid.* public library and antiquities, *ibid.*
Worbe, village, II. 379.
Wytttenbach, the Reverend, of Berne, II. 42. 52. 54. institutes a society for the cultivation of physic and natural history, 310. his cabinet of the natural productions of Switzerland, 357—365. his plan and description of the Alps seen from Berne, 365, & seq.

Y.

Yverdun, town and lake, II. 213.
Yvorne, a ruined place near the lake of Geneva, II. 201.

Z.

Zaringen, dukes of, I. 131.
Zell, town of, I. 12. lake of, *ibid.*
Zesenberg, mountain, II. 375.
Zillis, village, III. 204.
Zinkeberg, mountain, I. 301.
Zoffingen, a town in Berne, I. 235.
Zug, town of, I. 215. history of canton Zug, 215, 216. government, *ibid.* departure from thence, 217. lake of, *ibid.*
 — a remarkable rock, III. 235.
Zuingle, Ulric, the reformer, his history and character, I. 73—75. killed at the battle of Cappel, 75.
Zünfte, or tribes, at Basle, I. 153, 154.
 — Ann, I. 99.

I N D E X.

Zundorf, a village in the valley of Urseren, I. 272. 287.

Zuric, lake of, I. 67. canton; history; religion; state of cultivation; population; policy in regard to granting burgherships; privileges of the burghers; government; laws; senate; revenue; criminal jurisprudence; city of Zuric; its situation and buildings; manufactories; population; man-

ners of the inhabitants; sumptuary laws; military force; ecclesiastical government; church revenues; charitable establishments; chirurgical seminary; education; learning; learned men; society of natural history and physics; public library private libraries; environs of Zuric; Zuric accedes to the alliance with France, 72—212.

Zutz, a village, III. 101. 103.

F I N I S.

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pretended *Voyage pittoresque*; and proper to remind the traveller of those scenes which he has beheld with pleasing wonder.

The same artist has also drawn for Mr. MECHER, printer in Basil, two large views of the city of Berne, and a view of the Jungfrauhorn.

BACLER d'ALBE.

A view of the bridge and passage of St. Maurice in the Vallais.

A view of the cascade of St. Saphorin, on the lake of Geneva.

A view of Mont-blanc.

BIEDERMANN of Winterthur

has published a set of seventeen colored views, each 22 inches broad and 14 inches high, of

the city and environs of Lucerne.

Stanz.

Sarnen.

Zurich.

Berne.

Schaffhausen.

Friburgh.

Soleure.

Basle.

Zug.

Schweitz.

Altorf.

Glaris.

Appenzel.

Herisau.

Thun.

Winterthur.

This collection, together with the drawings of ABERLI, RIETER and BIRMANN, presenting the finest views in Switzerland, has also been published in a smaller size.

Characteristic of Switzerland, representing the gradual transition from the plain to the glaciers; in four sheets, each 29 inches broad 18½ inches high, containing
a view of *Wildegge*.

————— *Lucerne*.

————— *Kanderthal*.

————— *Rosenlauigletscher*.

PETER BIRMANN of *Basle*.

Large-sized views colored of
Schelmenloch, } in the canton of *Basle*.
Gieffen, }

A view of the environs of Basle.

————— the environs of *Sursee*.

————— the lake of *Lawertz*.

————— the lake of the four Cantons.

————— the fall of the Rhine at *Schaffhausen*.

————— *Isola Bella* in the Lago Maggiore.

Small-sized views colored of

The Reichenbach.

The Devil's bridge.

A picturesque tour from Basle to Bienne, on 36 plates.

The Black Forest, in 4 plates.

A landscape after Charles Dujardin.

————— *Jean Both d'Italie*.

Two landscapes after Loutherburch.

Two landscapes after Claude Gélée, commonly called *Le Lorrain*.

Two landscapes after Nicholas Berghem,

Two paintings with horses, after Queenfort.

St. Francis praying in a cavern. after Teniers.

The above plates, engraved in a new style, and exhibiting faithful copies of their originals, will be continued. The same artist has also a great number of views, drawn by himself, after nature, in Italy and Switzerland; and is now publishing a collection of Swiss dresses, from paintings by REINHARD. Twelve plates are ready for sale. Each plate represents a groupe of three or more figures in their proper dresses, &c. they are all drawn with much spirit, and neatly colored.

Mr. BIRMANN has drawn for J. DECKER, printer and bookseller in Basle:

A collection of six views in Switzerland etched by REINERMANN and colored under the direction of the author.

For Mr. MECHEL, printseller:

The city and lake of Zug,

The city and bridge of Rapperschawyl, both colored.

For the chalcographical society at Dessau:

1 *The Haslithal.*

W. Tell's chapel.

Maria - stein.

1 *The Fall of the Aar near Unterseen.*

All four engraved in aquatinta by HALDENWANG.

DUNKER.

Two views of the Waterfall at Douanne, in the canton of Berne.

A view of the city of Avenche.

Morat.

S. FREUDENBERGER of Berne.

A pretty collection, exhibiting, on fifteen neatly colored plates, a lively and striking picture of the manners of the Swifs, viz.

The return from market.

Rural ease.

The visit in the cottage.

The parting of the Swifs soldier.

Maternal care.

The contented villager.

The songsters in May.

The unexpected feast.

The spinster.

The throwster.

The rural toilette.

Village - neatness.

A girl swinging.

The kind father.

Mr. MECHEL, printfeller has published of this artist:

The small Swifs family of the canton of Berne.

H. FUESSLI of Zurich.

A collection of picturesque views in Switzerland, colored, five parts, each containing fix plates.

The city of Zurich, 14 inches by 22, colored.

The ruins of Stanz-Stadt, 15 inches by 10, in colors and brown.

SOLOMON GESSNER.

Though poetry was the darling pursuit of this amiable author, and though he enriched the literature of his country with works which will render his name immortal, he did

not confine himself to one manner of imitating nature; he in turns took up the pencil and the pen; and his active genius equally directed them both.

His drawings, by which he acquired so much reputation, that he was ranked among the best artists of Germany, are in much request among connoisseurs.

The quarto edition of his works, embellished with frontispieces, vignettes, and other ornaments drawn and etched by himself, and whereof the two first volumes were printed in his own office in 1777 and 1778, is a literary curiosity, which the lover of the fine arts and the friend to the Graces will behold with ever new delight. The family of Mr. GESSNER have lately promised the completion of this splendid edition, which will certainly excel all others made in foreign countries and overloaded with decorations.

Mr. Gessner has also published: *A collection of 32 etched landscapes in 4°.* These are mostly sketches, but such, as an inhabitant of Switzerland and the poet of nature only could invent. Each of these landscapes is an idyl; and each group a beautiful scene.

Fifty-two views of Switzerland drawn and etched by himself, in his own light manner; in a pocket-size; where the traveller will trace the many romantic scenes by which he must have been enchanted.

GMELIN.

The Fall of the Rhine at Lauffen, near Schaffhausen.

The Rocks and Shoals in the Rhine, at Lauffenburgh.

Both in black and colored.

Allstadt on the lake of Lucerne, with the monument erected by the Abbé Raynal in memory of the three founders of the Swiss league.

These three plates have been published by Mr. de MECHEL at Basle.

HÆGY of Zurich

has engraved several plates, which have been published by BIRMANN.

J. R. HENTZI.

The most remarkable views of the Mountains of Switzerland, engraved in colors, with the description of them; six parts.

L. HESS.

The Bridge over the Aar on mount Grimfel, brown.

View of the Lake of Zug.

————— *Road over the St. Gothard.*

————— *Visp in the Vallais.*

————— *Elzogne, in the valley of Esch.*

————— *Reust in the canton of Unterwalden where
Nich. von der Flue lived.*

————— *Ideo.*

————— *Olivona in the valley of Palenz.*

————— *Bridge over the Rhine in the valley of Nevies
in the Grisons.*

Engraved by HAEGI and BILLVILLER in aqua-tinta, and published by MAT. PFENNINGER.

*Rhinefall near Ruslen in the Grisons, Engraved by HALDEN-
WANG and published by CHR. de MECHEL.*

Rheinwald-Gletscher, published by M. PFENNINGER.

HUBERT.

View of the Castle of Lausanne.

————— *Castle of Chillon on the lake of Geneva.
Both in colors.*

F. N. KOENIG of *Interlaken*

has published a collection of Swiss dresses on 24 sheets. The contours are etched in the manner of black chalk, and finished with the pencil. The figures are portraits.

The Return from the Alps.

The Laborious Family.

The Kiltgang.

Golzweyl near Interlaken by moonlight.

LAFOND and LORY.

View of the Pissevache.

———— Montreux near Vevay and of the castle of Chillon.

———— Superior Glacier of the Grindelwald and of the Wetterhorn.

———— Inferior Glacier of the Grindelwald and of mount Eiger.

———— Environs of Thun.

———— The Aar at its flowing out from the lake of Brienz.

———— Island of Schwanau.

———— Altorf.

———— Fluelen in the canton of Uri.

———— Valley of Lauterbrunnen with the Staubbach.

———— Interlaken.

———— of the lake of Bienne, taken from the island of St. Pierre.

The above views were all designed and colored from nature. A set of seven smaller views, with a description of them. View of Ringgenberg, by LAFOND alone, 13 inches high and 20 broad.

A collection of ten landscapes designed by LAFOND, ZEHENDER and LORY, during a journey into the Oberhasli and the cantons of Schwiz and Uri, with an Itinerary.

H. LIPS of Zurich.

This engraver has published portraits of several eminent persons in Switzerland; such as *Freudweiler* and *Hess*, both painters; *Bonnet* and *Gessner*; *David Wyss* and *Henry Kilchsperger*, Burghmasters of Zurich; and *Lavater*, whose disciple he was and whom he assisted in the publication of his physiognomical work, most of the plates of which were engraved by him.

LOUTHERBURGH.

Two different Views of the *Rhinesal* near *Schaffhausen* in colors.

CHR. de MECHEL.

This artist, whose printshop is deservedly visited by every traveller, has published a great many engravings of Views, Manners and Dresses in Switzerland. Several of these being enumerated under the names of *ABERLI*, *HESS*, *DUNKER*, *BACLER d'ALBE*, &c. we shall here only mention the following:

The grave of Mrs. Langhans, at Hindelbank, by NAHL.

Solicitude of a mother in the eternity, after FREUDWEILER.

Two large views of the church of St. Urs at Soleure, representing the ceremony of the renewal of the league between France and Switzerland, in 1777.

Four large views of Basle, after BUECHEL.

A view of the Environs of Basle after WAGNER.

———— the *Waterfal* at *Lauffen*, in the *Bishopric* of *Basle*.

———— the *Mountain* and dwelling of *Michael Schupach* at *Langnau*.

———— *Lake of Zug*

———— *Bridge near Rapperschawyl* } after *BIRMANN* colored.

Perspective view of General Pfyffer's model.

———— Mount St. Gothard, after Mr. Exchaquet's model, in colors.

———— valley of Chamouni, the Montblanc, &c. after the model of Mr. Exchaquet, in colors.

Mr. de Saussure's Excursion on the summit of Montblanc, two sheets in colors.

Plans and Elevations of the wooden bridges of Schaffhausen and Wettingen.

A view of the Rhine above its fall at Schaffhausen, in colors.

Two views of the castle of Falkenstein in the canton of Soleure.

A view of Pissevache.

———— the Devil's bridge.

———— Meadow called Rutli, on the lake of the Four Cantons.

———— Altstadt on the lake of Lucerne.

———— Arau.

———— Citadel of Arburgh.

———— Brugg.

———— the monument erected near Fraubrunnen in memory of the victory which the militia of Berne obtained on that spot, in 1375.

Two views of Basle.

View of the Mill at Bæzingen

———— Pierre Pertuis.

Six views representing the gardens at Arlesheim.

Manners and Dresses.

A Collection of twelve Swiss dresses, civil and military, of men and women, in the sixteenth century, after drawings of HOLBEIN, colored,

A Collection of twenty-four different dresses, of the inhabitants of the canton of Basle at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, drawn by HUBER, engraved by SCHELLENBERG.

A Collection of twenty-six modern dresses, of the country-people of Switzerland, colored after nature.

The Three Graces of the Gouguisberg.

The Three Bacchus of Morat.

*Country women of Switzerland,
of the Brisgau,
of Baden,
of Alsace, colored.*

The Love seller of Berne.

The Dress of a Traveller on the Alps.

Portraits of eminent Swifs.

Solomon Gessner after GRAAF, engraved by EICHLER.

Leonard Euler, after HANDMAN.

Isaac Iselin, after HICKEL, both engraved by HUBNER.

Michael Schuppach, after LOCHER, engraved by HUBNER.

Klyogg, (the country philosopher) by SCHELLENBERG.

General Pfyffer, after REINHARD, in colors.

Saussure, a whole length, colored.

Lavater, a whole length, colored.

———— half-length, colored.

———— on his deathbed.

Besides several other works that have no relation to Switzerland, Mr. de MECHEL has also published:

The Works of JOHN HOLBEIN, or a Collection of plates engraved after the finest pieces that are extant of this famous painter in different countries and particularly in the city of Basle, 4 parts in folº.

I. H. MEYER.

The ceremony of the Swearing of the oath on the Lindenhof at Zurich.

The monument of Solomon Gessner at Zurich.

The plates in the Helvetic almanacs for the years 1789 — 1798.

————— *picturesque journey into the Italian bailiwics of Switzerland.*

————— *Ebel's Traveller's guide through Switzerland.*

————— *Travels of F. Matthison.*

————— *Ebel's characteristic of the Highlanders.*

————— *Stalder's Description of the Entlibuch.*

————— *Bridel's Excursion.*

————— *Almanac of the Helvetic revolution.*

This artist is now publishing a series of plater representing the ruins of the canton of Unterwalden, drawn on the spot.

H. PFENNINGER of Zurich

has published a collection of portraits of the most eminent persons in Switzerland, 3 vol. The biographical part by LEONHARD MEISTER.

M. PFENNINGER of Zurich.

A view of Constance.

St. Gallen.

Baden.

Rapperschwyl, middle size, colored.

Several views after WUEST, HESS, &c. in the same manner; as also

Canobbio.

Breggia.

} *in an Italian bailiwick.*

Abbey of Engelberg, after KUNZ of Manheim.

Ragaz.	}	after BENZ of Balle.
Reichenau.		
Murg.		
Linth.		

Six oval views in the Grisons, after KUNZ.

A view of the Grove of Schinznach.

Forest of Bulach, in the canton of Zurich,
both after HUBER of Zurich.

RIETER of Berne

has drawn after nature, and published in colors,
large size.

A country-house and landscape in the canton of Berne.

The last Fall of the Richenbach.

The Fall of the Giefsbach on the lake of Brienz.

A view of the Spietz on the lake of Thun.

————— Tour on the lake of Geneva.

————— Iseltwald on the lake of Brienz.

middle size

A view of the summit of the Virgin-peak.

————— Lachen, on the lake of Zurich.

————— chain of Alps, with a description.

small size.

A journey on the lake of Joux containing views of

Luchertz, near the lake of Bienne.

Isle of St. Pierre, on the lake of Bienne.

Bridge of Thiele, near the lake of Neufchatel.

Colliery near the lake of Joux.

Castle of Cerlier.

Bridge near the lake of Joux, two plates.

Orbe, two plates.

Montcherand, near Orbe.

A collection of ten views, viz.

Oberhasli.

Amsoldingen.

St. Maurice.

Im Grund.

Clarens.

Aarberg.

Wädenschweil.

Ringgenberg.

Chillon.

Wimmis.

Dresses of the country-people of the canton of Berne, in six sheets.

REINHARD of Lucerne

has travelled for many years in Switzerland, to paint the inhabitants of the different cantons; and formed a complete gallery of national physiognomies and Swiss dresses. Forty paintings are already finished, each of them contains three or more figures or groupes representing the inhabitants of every district, in their proper occupations and dresses. He travels about with this gallery and shows it for money. Mr. BIRMANN of Basle is actually publishing etched engravings of it which are neatly colored.

M. WOCHER of Basle.

The Mill at Ragaz engraved by HALDENWANG, published by the chalcographical society in Dessau.

H. WUEST of Zurich.

A view of the Waterfal at Weislingen.

Waterfal at Erlenbach.

both large sized plates colored.

Pass over the Hauenstein and the Waterfal at Balstal, two middle-sized plates colored.

The above four views have been engraved and published by M. PFENNINGER of Zurich.

ZEHENDER of Berne.

A view of the Schwarzbrunnli, a mineral spring near Gournigeln in the canton of Berne, with thirty-six figures.

Lake of Engstlen.

INDEX.

I N D E X.

*** *The Numerals I. II. III. denote the Volumes;
the Figures the Pages.*

A.

- A** *A*, river and cataract, vol. I. page 251. 265.
- Aar*, river, I. 140. 188. its sources; gold-dust found in its bed, 296. excursion to its source, 301. valley of the, II. 1. 3. fall of the river, 2. 51. 292. 378.
- Aar-gletscher*, mountains, I. 298.
- Abbaye*, a village, II. 209.
- Abendberg*, mountain, II. 369.
- Adda*, river, III. 79. 83. source of the, 127—129. canal of the, 275—278.
- Adelric*, St. I. 110.
- Adige*, river, III. 125.
- Aeschi*, II. 52.
- Affholteren*, a village near Zurich, I. 116.
- D'Affry*, Count. See *St. Barthelemi*.
- Aganum*. See *St. Maurice*.
- Agnes*, daughter of the Queen of Hungary, endows the convent of Koenigsfelden, I. 138.
- Airolo*, a burgh, III. 318.
- Aigle*, saltworks, II. 198. government, 202.
- Albenen*, singular passage from Leuk to that village, II. 56.
- Albert*, of Hapsburgh, the emperor, assassinated, I. 135—137.
- Albis*, a village near Zurich, II. 214.
- Albula*, torrent, III. 235.
- Alliance*, perpetual, between France and the Swiss Cantons, I. 207. & seq. infringed upon, 211—219.
- Alp-bach*, a cascade, II. 5.
- Alp-nach*, a village in Unterwalden, I. 251.
- Alpschelenen-horn*, mountains, II. 337, 374.
- Alles Angnes*, a house in Upper Engadina, III. 102.
- Altits*, mountains, II. 374.
- Altitude*, of different mountains upon the globe compared, II. 105.
- Altorf*, the chief burgh of the canton Uri, I. 244.
- Alvenex*, baths of, III. 234.
- Amadeus*, the 8th. of Savoy, his tomb and history, II. 189—192.
- Amstein*, Dr. of Zitzers, his inquiries into the natural œconomy of the Marmot, III. 90.
- Anderswisen*, village, III. 235.
- D'Andlau*, Madame, I. 172.

Anghiera, castle of, III. 331.

Antoninus Pius, a monument of, discovered, II. 192, 193.

Appenzel, mountains of, I. 20. canton; history; government, 23. *Landamman*, or first magistrate, *ibid.* commerce and industry bleachery; cotton manufactory, 29. description of the country, 26. journey from thence to Saletz, 30. 31. receives subsidies from France, 219.

Aporta, the Rev. Mr. account of his works, III. 105.

Arau, treaty of, I. 123.

Arder, a village, III. 203.

Ardetz, a village, III. 118.

Aristocracy, definition of, I. 152. note,

Arlesheim, town of, I. 172.

Arniberg, mountain, I. 359.

Arona, town of, III. 331.

Arpenas. See *Magland*.

Arve, river, II. 181.

Arveron, river, II. 113.

Avry, town of, P. N. Chenaux retires thither, II. 283.

Asbestos, a rock of, near Chiavenna, III. 192.

Aubin, St. town of, II. 215.

Aughstweichtbrunnen, two springs in the glacier of the Furca, I. 298.

Augusta Rauracorum, an ancient Roman town, I. 165.

Avalanches, bodies of snow that fall from the mountains, II. 40. the village of Leuk partly destroyed by one, 55.

Avenches, anciently *Aventicum*, a burgh in the Pays de Vaud, II. 260. its antiquity, 261, & *seq.* curious Roman mosaic pavement, 262, 263. amphitheatre, 263, 264. other remains of antiquity, 263 — 265.

B.

Baden, town of, I. 130.

Badus, mountain, III. 260.

Balerna, bailliage, III. 75.

Bailliage, a species of Swiss government, I. 33. & *passim*.

Bailliages, the seven Italian, ceded to the Swiss, III. 322.

Ballenhœchst, mountain, II. 369.

Balma, James, a guide, discovers a practicable ascent to the summit of Mount Blanc, II. 122.

La Balme, cave of, II. 183.

Balstal, valley of, I. 188.

Balthasar, Mr. I. 222. 265.

Bar, a district in canton Zug, I. 216.

St. Barthelemi, feat of Count d'Affry, II. 212.

Basle, journey from Zurich to, I. 129. strange difference of the clocks from real time, 142. situation of the city, 143. commerce; cathedral, 144. university, 145. public library, 147. cabinet of petrifications, &c.; paintings by Holbein, 148. & *seq.* bishops of, 152. See *Porentru*. Constitution and government; mode of election; election of professors, 155. sumptuary laws, 157. liberty of the citizens, 158. education; population, *ib.* 159.

La Bathia, near Martigny, II. 69.

St. Beat, mountains of, II. 368.

Beaufoy, Mr. succeeds in reaching the summit of Mont Blanc, II. 127.

Belgeritta, village, III. 330.

Bellano, town, III. 79.

Bellelay, abbey of; military academy there, I. 171.

Bellinzone, town of, III. 320. its history, 320 — 323.

Belpberg, mountain near Berne, II. 367.

I N D E X.

- Berchem*, Mr. Van, his account of the bouquetins, II. 164.
- Berne*, town and canton of, II. 292. buildings and situation; history; population; society: trade; public buildings; administration of justice; public library, 292—311. Government; militia; *exterior state*, 311—320.
- Bernoulli*, John, the mathematician, I. 156. account of his three sons, *ibid.*
- Bever*, village, III. 102.
- Bevio*, village, III. 100.
- Bevioux*, saltworks, II. 203—205.
- Bex*, saltworks, II. 198—203.
- Beza*, Theodore, III. 5.
- Blair's*, cabin, II. 108. III. 113.
- Blakeberg*, mountain, I. 259.
- Blaneberg*, mountain, I. 289.
- Blumlis alp*, II. 366.
- Bienne*, lake of, see *St. Peter's Isle*. Town of, journey thither from Basle, I. 173—183. description of the town; government, 184—186. revenues, 185. language, 186. receives subsidies from France, 209.
- Bionasay*, a village, II. 121.
- Birs*, river; its source, I. 160—181.
- Biveronius*, see *Tutschet*.
- Bochart*, the Swiss antiquary, II. 192, 193.
- Boden See*, or superior lake of Constance, I. 17, 18.
- Bois*, glacier of, II. 114.
- Bonadutz*, village, III. 213.
- Bondo*, village, III. 87.
- Bonivard*, prior of St. Victor, II. 199. founds the public library at Geneva, III. 7.
- Bonnet*, Charles, of Geneva, account of him and his works, III. 8, 9.
- Bonneville*, the capital of Faucigny; II. 184.
- Bonstet*, M. de, I. 105. 114.
- Borgo nuovo*, village of, III. 94.
- Bormio*, mountains, III. 112. county of; government; revenue; religion; town of; spirit of freedom, 128—139.
- Borromeo*, San Carlo, his colossal statue, III. 330.
- Bosson*, glacier of, II. 107—123.
- Boudri*, town of, II. 215.
- Bouquetin*, or mountain-goat; description and natural history of the, II. 163—179. list of authors who have described this animal, 180, 181.
- Bourguillon*, a gate of Friburgh, II. 270.
- Bourrit*, Mr. his attempt to reach the summit of Mont Blanc, II. 121. accompanies Mr. de Saussure, 122.
- Bouveresse*, a village, II. 238.
- Brail*, a village, III. 111.
- Bralio*, mountain, III. 127. passage over, 130.
- Brattelen*, plain of, battle fought there, I. 161.
- Brege*, river, I. 2.
- Breithorn*, mountain, II. 45, 46. 372.
- Breitlavinien*, glacier, II. 372.
- Brenet*, lake of, II. 209.
- Bribach*, river, I. 2.
- Brientz*, lake of, II. 151.
- Brieg*, one of the dixains in the Valais, II. 60.
- Brot*, a village, II. 338.
- Broye*, river, II. 249. Roman inscription upon a bridge across the, III. 1.
- Brunnen*, village, I. 239. treaty of, 246.
- Buckeberg*, a protestant bailliage in Soleure, I. 194.
- Bulle*, town, the insurgents of Gruyeres met there, II. 281.
- Bunds-president*. See *Coire*.

Buol, Mr. Austrian envoy at Reichenau, III. 214.

C.

Calendar, mountain, III. 218.

Calvin, John, the reformer, his character, III. 4—6.

Campel, Huldric, his valuable work upon the Grisons, III. 113, 114. account of him and his works, 114—117. version of the Psalms, 303.

Canale vecchio, III. 79.

Cappel, battle of, I. 75. 215.

Carmagnola, an Italian general, III. 321.

Casaccia, village, III. 94.

Cast Segna, a village, III. 87.

Castellaz, John Nicolas Andrew, a leader of the insurgents of Gruyeres, II. 280. & seq. his flight, 287.

Catzis, village, III. 210.

Calerina, plain of, III. 96.

Cenero, mountains, III. 326.

Cepino, valley of, III. 131—140. village, *ibid.*

Cerlier, castle, II. 244.

Cernetz, in lower Engadina, III. 112.

Chatillard, a town on the lake of Geneva, II. 196.

Chablais, II. 184.

Chaluet, a glen near Munster, I. 179—181.

Chamber, secret. See government of Friburgh.

Chamois, an animal in the Alps, I. 302, 303.

Chamouny, valley of, II. 100. glaciers of, 107. & seq.

Charbonniers, village, 209.

Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, besieges Morat and is defeated, II. 252. his imprudent wars with the Swiss, 253. & seq. is slain in

the battle of Nancy, 258. consequences of his death to Switzerland, 259.

Charles le Gros, relics of, I. 13. history of, *ibid.*

Charles the VIIth of France, treaty with him, I. 164.

La Chaux de Fond, a village, II. 221. See *Locle*.

Chenaux, Peter Nicolas, a leader of the insurgents at Gruyeres, II. 280, & seq. flies to Tour de la Treme, 282. advances to Posieux, 283. retires, *ib.* taken, 287. and killed, *ibid.*

Chene, a village, II. 184.

Chiappinus impeaches Rusca, III. 207. See *Rusca*.

Chiavenna, lake of, III. 83. town of; history and government; situation, population, and commerce; curiosities in the environs, 189—192.

Chillon, castle of, II. 199.

Choiseul's folly. See *Versoi*.

Churwalden, district, III. 234.

Cimut, village, III. 260.

Clarens. See *Chatillard*.

Clarice, village, III. 78.

Closter, village, III. 240.

Cluse, town of, II. 184.

Clusette, a pass in Neufchatel, II. 238.

Cœuvres, Marquis de, his history, III. 113.

Cogne, valley of, II. 165.

Coire, town of, III. 218. history; government; ceremony of administering the oaths to the *Bundspresident*; bishopric; rights of the bishops; cathedral, 219, 220.

Col de Balme, mountain, II. 100.

Collico, town, III. 79.

Colloquia, assemblies of the protestant Grison clergy, III. 267.

I N D E X.

- Colossus*, an extraordinary inaccessible, on mount Pilate, I. 230.
- Comines*, Philip de, his account of the effects of the defeat of Charles the Bold upon his mind, II. 257.
- Como*, town of, III. 74. lake of, 76—79.
- Confederacy*, Helvetic, I. 122—128. *& passim*; table of the cantons composing it, and the quota of troops to be furnished by each, III. 334.
- Congress*, of the three Grison leagues, III. 249—253.
- Constance*, inferior lake of, I. 12. bishop of; city of; history; chamber of council; improvements made by the Genevans; superior lake of, 13—17.
- Cormayor*, valley of, II. 165.
- Corrandelin*, village, I. 175. iron foundery there, *ibid.* treaty of, 177.
- Corser*, a village in the Pays de Vaud, II. 194.
- Corvi*, crows, different species in Switzerland, II. 364.
- Cote, la*, a mountain near Mont Blanc, II. 123.
- Cotton* manufactory. See *Appenzel*, *Basle*, &c.
- Coujourvaux*, seat of Count Diesbach, II. 250.
- Courtelari*, residence of the Bishops of Basle, I. 183.
- Couteran*, Monsieur, his attempt to reach the summit of Mont Blanc, II. 120.
- Coutet*, Marie, a guide, his various expeditions to Mont Blanc, II. 113. 120, 121.
- Couvercle*, an extraordinary rock, II. 112.
- Couvvet* a village, in the valley of Travers, II. 238.
- Crampons*, iron spikes fixed to the shoes to facilitate the passage of the ice, II. 108. 114.
- Craffi*, a village, II. 184.
- Crossbow*, still in use in Switzerland, I. 244.
- Cully*, a town, II. 193.

D.

- Dacio*, village, III. 83. 318.
- Dala*, river, II. 54. 60.
- Danube*, source of the, I. 2.
- Dauben See*, a lake upon mount Gemmi, II. 53.
- Davos*, district, III. 235. government, 236.
- Delebio*, town, III. 181.
- Delmont*, valley and town, I. 173, 174.
- Dent*, valley, II. 165.
- Le Dent de Jamant*, II. 199.
- Dents Rouges*, mountains, II. 369.
- Dietrichstein*, Count, lord of Trasp, III. 118.
- Diesbach*, Count, II. 250.
- Diesma*, valley, III. 236.
- Dieffenhofen*, town, I. 12.
- Disentis*, abbot of, III. 200. 202. high jurisdiction of; abbey of; village, 257, 258.
- Dixains*, topical divisions of the Valais, II. 61.
- Domasio*, town of, III. 79.
- Domo d'Oscella*, town plundered by the Swiss, III. 321.
- Donat*, village, III. 204.
- Doneschingen*, I. 1, 2.
- Dopler*, Jerom, companion of Mr. Freygrabend in his expedition to the summit of mount Titlis, I. 262.
- Dorfbach*, a cataract, II. 5.
- Dou*, river, II. 237.
- Draba Pyrenaica*, a plant, I. 28.

I N D E X.

- Dranse*, river in the Vallais, II. 69.
Dratturas magnas, district in the country of the Grisons, III. 313.
Dreyspitz, mountain, II. 369.
Droz, Jacquet, an ingenious mechanic, II. 223.
Drusus, camp of, III. 103, 104.

E.

- Ebenfluh*, mountain, II. 372.
Echalens, bailliage, II. 212.
Egerhorn, mountain, II. 41.
Egeri, a district in canton Zug, I. 216.
Einsiedlen, or *Notre Dame des Hermites*, abbey of, I. 62—67.
Elizabeth, empress, founds the convent of Koenigsfelden, I. 135—139.
Eloise, la nouvelle of Rousseau, II. 197.
Embs, village, III. 213. 215.
Emerald, curious, at Reichenau, I. 13.
Emmen, river, I. 235.
Emmenthal, valley, I. 231. & seq. II. 386.
Engadina, UPPER, III. & seq. constitution, 203—107.. description of the valley and its inhabitants, 108—110. LOWER, 110, & seq. reformation brought about by a singular circumstance, 114—116. constitution, 119. country and inhabitants, 129, 130.
Engelberg, abbey of, I. 257. mountain of, government of the abbey and adjacent country; revenues of the abbot; journey from thence to Altorf, 258—267.
Enkeberg, mountain, I. 266.
Entle, river in Entlibuch, I. 233.
Entlibuch, valley of, I. 231. its extent; government; description; inhabitants; peculiar customs, 233—235.
- Erasmus*, buried at Basle, I. 144. his character, 145, 146.
D'Erlach, Mr. advoyer of Berne, II. 284.
L'Eschaut, glacier de, II. 117.
Eschlismat, a village in Entlibuch, I. 233, 234.
Eugenius, the fourth, Pope, deposed, II. 190.
Exchaquet, Mr. II. 111, 112.

F.

- Fasch*, Monsieur, his collection of pictures, I. 151.
Faido, town of, III. 319.
Fait, a torrent formerly, now dry, III. 95, 96.
Falun, river, II. 212.
Farel, William, a Genevan reformer, III. 4.
Fatzerol, village, III. 234.
Faucigny, duchy of, II. 105.
Faulblatten, mountain, I. 263.
Felix the Fifth, the antipope. See *Amadeus* the Eighth.
Feudo, rocks of the, I. 273, 274. mountain, 278.
Finsteraarhorn, mountain, I. 298. 301. II. 375.
Flasch, III. 243.
Fleurier, increase of population in the valley of, II. 238.
Flims, town, III. 254.
Flola, valley, III. 240.
Flue, St. Nicholas de, I. 252. church dedicated to him; his history; brings about the treaty of Mantz; superstitious account of his having lived without sustenance, 250—255.
Fluellen, a place on the lake of Uri, I. 244.

- Fontana merla*, a small stream in Upper Engadina, III. 102.
- Forest*, the black, I. 2.
- Franci*, a rich family at Plurs, III. 85.
- Francis*, friar, resident upon mount St. Gothard, I. 277. information received from him, 278, 279.
- Frauenfeld*, diet of, I. 34. 122.
- Fredolfo*, torrent, III. 137.
- Freyberg*, mountains, I. 43.
- Freygrabend*, Mr. his expedition to the summit of Mount Titlis, I. 262-265.
- Friburgh*, town and history of, II. 267. situation, buildings and inhabitants; bishop of; population of the town and canton; government as existing in 1776; insurrection of the inhabitants of Gruyeres; inquiry into the grievances complained of by the insurgents; new troubles; final pacification; regulations in consequence thereof; produce of the canton, 267—298.
- Froideville*, lieutenant, attacks the besiegers of Friburgh, II. 285.
- Frutigen*, valley of, I. 52.
- Fuentes*, fort of, III. 80—82.
- Furba*, valley of, III. 131.
- Furca*, journey to the, I. 286—288. glacier of the, 289. 297, 298. passage of the, 297.
- Fürst*, Walter, of Uri, assists in planning the revolution, which established the Helvetic Confederacy, I. 246.
- Fürstenberg*, prince of, I. 2.

G.

- Galleberg*, mountain, part of the Furca, I. 297.
- Gallen*, St. I. 20. abbot and town of, 21. history and government, *ibid.* library, 22.
- Gallicius*. See *Salutz*.
- Gamschigletscher*, II. 373.
- Ganterish*, a mountain, II. 368.
- Garville*, Mr. II. 250.
- Gaster*, valley of, II. 373.
- Gemmi*, mountain, II. 53. passage over, 53, 54. 374.
- Geneva*, journey to, II. 180. lake of, 200. — Situation of the town, III. 2. population; reformation in religion; learning and education of the inhabitants; public library; account of learned Genevans; history down to 1776; constitution and government; revenue; penal laws; code of civil law; public granary, fortifications, and defence; history of the revolution in 1782; and diffusion of its causes; changes effected in the constitution, 3—50.
- Genevan* establishment in Ireland, its failure, III. 53.
- Gengenbach*, an imperial town, I. 2.
- Gerisau*, town and republic of, I. 239.
- Gertrude*, Ann, of Hohenburgh, wife of the emperor Rhodolph the First, buried at Basle, I. 144. strange mistake regarding her name, *ibid.*
- Gesellschaften*, or companies, I. 154.
- Gesner*, Conrad, account of him, I. 89.
- Gesner*, John, I. 95. his cabinet of natural curiosities, 95, 96. botanical works, 96, 97.
- Gesner*, Solomon, character and account of him, I. 89.
- Gabriel*, Stephen, translator of the liturgy of Zurich into Romanish, III. 269. 305.

I N D E X.

- Glaciers*, conjectures on the formation and state of, II. 128.
- Glaris*, canton of, I. 38 — 43. history, *ibid.* religion, 40, 41. government, 41. 47. trade, 42. valleys in the canton, 43 — 45. houses, 46. police, 47. receives subsidies from France, 209.
- Gletscherberg*, mountain, I. 289.
- Giacomo*, St. valley of, III. 192.
- Giornico*, victory of, III. 319.
- Girtanner*, Dr. his account of the bouquetin, II. 164.
- Gites*, pastures near the foot of the Alps, II. 298.
- God's-house*, league of, history and constitution, III. 216. union with the two other Grison leagues, 246.
- Goitres*, excrescences of the throat, common in the Vallais, &c. II. 64. causes of the disorder, 74 — 81.
- Goms*, one of the dixains in the Vallais, II. 60.
- Gothard*, St. valley of, I. 273. mountain, its height, 276. account of its extent by Friar Francis, 277. weather on the mountain, 278, 279.
- Graffen-ort*, a villa of the abbot of Engelberg, I. 257.
- Granite*, of the Swiss mountains, II. 367.
- Granson*, town of, II. 215. taken by assault by Charles the Bold, 257.
- Greiffen*, lake of, I. 114. village, *ib.*
- Grens*, a place near Morat, II. 250.
- Grey*, Lady Jane, her letters to Bullinger, I. 99.
- Grey League*, territory of the, III. 198. etymology of the appellation, 199. history and governments, 200. union with the two other Grison Leagues, 246.
- Grindelwald*, village, II. 41. glaciers, 41, 42. 135.
- Griesenbach*, a rivulet, I. 259.
- Grimfel*, mountain, I. 293. inn upon the road over the, 294, 295. its summit, 299.
- Grisons*. See *Leagues*.
- Grosshorn*, mountain, II. 45, 46.
- Goteron*, valley and rivulet, II. 270, 271.
- Grubenman*, Ulric, builds the famous bridge at Schaffhausen, I. 8. born at Tuffen, 26. his nephew, 27. builds the bridge at Wettingen, 130. other bridges built by the Grubenmans, III. 215.
- Grunengen*, a small burgh, I. 111. jurisdiction, 112.
- Gruner*, his theory of the glaciers, II. 128.
- Gruti*, village, I. 241.
- Gruyeres*, insurrection of, II. 279, 280. excellent cheese made there, 298.
- Guglielmo*, St. the Norman, church of, III. 193.
- Guler*, the historian, account of him, III. 237, 238.
- Guidet*, Francis, his expedition to Mont Blanc, II. 121.
- Gurten*, village, II. 367.

H.

- Haldenstein*, village and castle, history of, III. 227.
- Haller* resides at La Roche, II. 201. biographical and literary anecdotes of him, 321 — 357.
- Hapsburgh*, castle of, I. 132. history of, 135. note.
- John de, I. 135 — 137.
- Rhodolph de. See *Rhodolph*.

I N D E X

- Hasliand*, a district in canton the Berne, II. 4. inhabitants, *ibid.*
- Hedlinger*, Mr. his collection of medals, I. 240.
- Henzenberg*, mountain, III. 210.
- Hergott*, the genealogist, I. 144.
- Herisau*, a village in Appenzel, I. 25.
- Herman*, Abbé, I. 191.
- Heydegger*, Mr. de, his library, I. 101.
- Hindelbank*, village, II. 379.
- Hochgericht*. See *Drattura*.
- Hohalp*, veins of lead discovered there, II. 370.
- Holbein*, the painter, I. 148. account of his paintings, and drawings at Basle, 148—150.
- Hopital*, a village in the valley of Urseren, I. 272.
- Hottinger*, Henry collects the library of Zurich, I. 100.
- Houses*, their construction in the mountainous part of Switzerland, II. 8.
- Houfli*, mountain, II. 5.
- Howard*, Mr. the effect of his visit to the house of correction at Berne, II. 307.
- Huber*, endeavours to reach the colossus of mount Pilate, and is dashed to pieces, I. 230.
- Hufs*, John, sufferings of, I. 14—16.
- Hutten*, his life and character, I. 110, III.
- Jenatsch*, village, III. 240.
- Jennins*, III. 243.
- Jetzler's*, Mr. description of the bridge at Schaffhausen, I. 8. note.
- Ilants*, town, of, III. 254.
- Illankin*. See *Trout*.
- Imier*, St. or *Erguel*, valley of, I. 183.
- Inn*, river, its source, III. 94. 101. 110. 123.
- Interlachen*, valley, II. 369.
- Joux*, valley and lake, II. 208. castle, 237.
- Irnis*. See *Giornico*.
- Ifola Bella*, an island, III. 329.
- Ifola*, a village, III. 197.
- Julimont*, an insulated hill near Neufchatel, II. 244.
- Julian Columns*, III. 98, 99.
- Alps, III. 98, 99. lake, *ibid.*
- Jungfrau-horn*, mountain, I. 298. II. 39. note. 371.
- Jura*, ridge of mountains, extremity of, I. 183. its extent, II. 208. excursion to its summit, 221.
- Juvalta*, author of the code of laws in Engadina, III. 107. his account of the venality of the Grison governments, 162. note.

K.

- ### J and I.
- James*, St. hospital of, I. 160. battle fought there, *ibid.* causes and history of the war, 160—165. annual commemoration of the battle, 165.
- Idiocy*, common in the Vallais, II. 65. probable cause of, 81—83.
- Kander*, valley and mountain, II. 52.
- Kandersteg*, II. 51, 52.
- Kasten*, lake of, I. 116.
- Kehl*, fortress, I. 1.
- Keith*, Lord, governor of Neufchatel, protects Rousseau, II. 239. & *seq.*
- Kernwald*, boundary of Ober and Unterwalden, I. 256.
- Kieman*, promontory of, I. 229. as represented in General Pfiffer's model, *ibid.*

Kinsing, valley of, I. 2. river, *ib.*
Kirchfluh, mountain, II. 369.
Köhlin, Mr. his commercial school
 at Mülhausen, I. 167.
Königsfelden, convent, I. 136—138.
Kublis, village of, III. 240.
Kuffnach, a village near Zurich, I.
 105. damaged by a flood, *ibid.*
 population, 106.
Kuffnacht, a village in canton Schweitz,
 I. 217.
Kyburgh and Groningen, bailifs of, I.
 81. castle of Kyburgh, 120. his-
 tory, 121, 122. description and
 situation, 122.

L.

Laburnum tree, II. 202.
Lagerberg, mountain, I. 116. view
 from, 117, 118.
Lautsch, town, III. 125.
Lambat, James, his expedition to
 Mont Blanc, II. 122.
Landsgemeind, of Glaris, I. 41.
Langhans, Madame, her tomb, II.
 379.
Langnau, village, II. 381.
Lanquart, river, III. 240.
Larch-tree, its great utility, II. 203.
Latreysfirst, mountain, II. 369.
Lavater, J. Caspar, I. 92—94. his
 character and works, *ibid.*
Laubergrat, mountain, I. 262.
Laveno, burgh, III. 329.
Lavezzi, stone pots made near Chia-
 venna, III. 86.
Lauffen, cataract of the Rhine, I. 4.
 9—11. castle, 10. valley and town,
 173, 174.
Lauffenburgh, I. 140. cataract at that
 place, *ibid.*

Lausanne, its population; situation;
 academy of sciences; and church,
 II. 186. & *seq.*
Lauteraarhorn, mountain, I. 301. II.
 366. 376.
Lauterbrunnen, valley of, journey
 thither, II. 43. situation, *ibid.*
 village, 44. glacier, 45—48. 370.
Lautrec, a French general, I. 64.
Leagues, the three Grison, their
 union, III. 246. their history; ge-
 neral idea of their courts of justice,
 religion, revenues, and population;
 commerce; foreign alliances; lan-
 guage, 247—286. Their subdivi-
 sions, 313—316.
Lecco, a branch of the lake of Como,
 III. 79.
Leislingen, village, II. 52.
Lengenberg, a mountain, II. 369.
Lenzburgh, Bernhard de, bishop of
 Friburgh, II. 272.
Leopold, duke of Austria, invades
 Lucerne, I. 218. is slain in the battle
 of Sempach, *ibid.*
Lera, lower, valley of, III. 240.
Levade, Mr. Roman antiquities in
 his possession, II. 192.
Levantine, valley, III. 317, 318.
Leugelbach, village, I. 44.
Leuk, baths of, II. 54—56 town,
 60, 61.
Lichen Rangiferinus, I. 302.
 ——— *Rupestis*, II. 127. *Sulphureus*,
ibid.
Lichtenstein, castle near Haldenstein,
 III. 229.
Liepitz, a kind of honey extracted
 by the Poles from the lime-tree.
 See *Lime*.
Ligario, Pietro, the painter, anec-
 dotes of him, III. 177.

I N D E X.

- Ligertz*, Baron de, canon of Arlesheim, I. 172.
- Lime-tree*, a large, near Morges, II. 186. account of several others, 187.
- Limmat*, river, I. 37. navigation dangerous, 129, 130.
- Linth*, river, I. 37. 43-45.
- Lira*, torrent, III. 192. 197, 198.
- Livino*, village, III. 325.
- Locarno*, lake, III. 323. town, *ibid.* bailliage, 324.
- Locendro*, glacier of, I. 273. lake of, 275.
- Locle*, a village; its industry and population, II. 222.
- Luc*, Mr. de, his improvement of the methods of ascertaining the heights of mountains, II. 103, 104. account of him, his works, and his cabinet, III. 11.
- Lucerne*, lake of, I. 218. 238. history of the canton; government; residence of the pope's nuncio; annual diet of the Catholic cantons; state of learning; population and produce of the canton; description of the town, 218-224.
- Lucens*, castle, III. 2.
- Lucius*, St. convent of, at Coire, III. 225.
- Ludlow*, Edmund, his residence at Vevay; his character, II. 195.
- Lugano*, town, III. 326, 327. lake, 327.
- Lugnetz*, valley of, III. 202.
- Lutschine*, weifs and schwartz, two rivers in the valley of Lauterbrunnen, II. 47.
- Lungin*, mountain, III. 94.
- Lungnetz*, mountain, I. 289.
- Lutry*, a town in the Pays de Vaud, II. 193.
- Luvino*, valley of, III. 131.
- Luvino*, the painter, III. 327.
- ## M.
- Mably*, Abbé de, his error in regard to the Helvetic confederacy, I. 124. note.
- Machaleb*-cherry, II. 202.
- Madulein*, village, III. 101.
- Magadino*, town of, III. 326.
- Maggia*, a torrent, III. 325.
- Magland*, a waterfall, II. 183.
- Maira*, a torrent, III. 84. 94.
- Malantz*, town of, III. 241.
- Malaria*, bad air on the borders of lake Como, III. 79.
- Malenco*, torrent, III. 176. valley, 187.
- Malin*, glacier, III. 94.
- Malix*, village, III. 234.
- Mallet*, Paul Henry, of Geneva, III. 11.
- Mallogia*, mountain, III. 94.
- Mals*, town, III. 125.
- Malters*, a village, I. 235.
- Marignano*, battle of, II. 63.
- Mark*, St. mountain of, road proposed to be made over it, III. 280.
- Marmot*, an animal, I. 294. description and natural history of, III. 89-93.
- Martigny*, a village in the Vallais, II. 68. See *Oxodurum*.
- Martin*, St. baths of, III. 129.
- bridge, III. 122. the author's reception by an old woman of that place, *ibid.* account of her adventures, 122, 123.
- Martinet*, Mr. Mayor of Travers, II. 239.
- Marzozzo*, bay of, III. 329.
- Masox*, Counts of, III. 200.

I N D E X.

- Maffie*, village, II. 379.
- Maurice*, St. town in the Vallais, II. 70.
- Maximin*, empeter, orders the Theban legion to be massacred. See *St. Maurice*.
- Mayenfield*, high jurisdiction of, III. 241. government and history, *ib.* & seq.
- Mayoria*, a rock at Sion in the Vallais, I. 66.
- Mechel*, an ingenious engraver at Basle, I. 150.
- Medels*, valley of, III. 258.
- Meile*, a village near Zurich, I. 107.
- Meillerie*, rocks of, II. 198.
- Meinau*, island and castle of, I. 17.
- Meinrad*, St. founder of Einsiedlen-abbey, I. 63, 64.
- Meister*, Leonhard, I. 94. 105.
- Melchthal*, Arnold de, of Unterwalden, assists in planning the revolution, which established the liberty of Switzerland, I. 246.
- Melkleberg*, mountain, I. 359.
- Meltbach*, a rivulet near Engelberg, I. 359.
- Mendrisio*, bailliage, III. 75.
- Mettenberg*, mountain, II. 41. 345.
- Meuron*, Mr. of Neufchatel, II. 244.
- Meutzingen*, a district in canton Zug, I. 216.
- Meyen*, valley of, I. 269.
- Meyer*, Mr. of Lucerne, I. 251—265.
- Meyringen*, capital of Hasliland, II. 4, 5.
- Millebach*, a cascade, II. 6.
- Mittaghorn*, mountain, II. 372.
- Moitier Travers*, temporary residence of Rousseau, II. 239—241.
- Molasses*, argillaceous stones, found in the plains and hills near Berne, II. 367.
- Mole*, mountain, III. 3.
- Molleray*, town, I. 181.
- Molina*, hot springs, III. 130.
- Montanvert*, glacier, II. 107. 113. 133.
- Mont Blanc*, its appearance at a distance, II. 101. various attempts to reach its summit, 120.
- Moraine*, the earth and stone disgorged by the glaciers, II. 114.
- Morat*, bailliage of, II. 249. lake, *ib.* Charles the Bold defeated in the battle of Morat, 252.
- Morbegno*, town of, III. 180.
- Morezzo*, St. lake of, III. 96. village *ibid.* See *St. Maurice*.
- Morgarten*, straits of, I. 247. defeat of the emperor Albert there, *ib.*
- Morges*, town, II. 186.
- La Motte*, island. See *St. Peter*.
- Moudon*, burgh, III. 2.
- Moulin de la Motte* at Friburgh, II. 270.
- Mülhausen*, a small republic in the Helvetic Confederacy, I. 267. history; manufactories, and government, *ibid.*
- Munster*, in the Vallais, I. 292.
- or *Moitier*, valley of, I. 176. division; constitution, and history, 176—178. village, 180.
- in the Grisons, valley and town, III. 125. government, 126.
- Muotta*, valley of, I. 229. extraordinary instance of mutual confidence in the inhabitants, *ibid.*
- Muret*, mountain, III. 187.
- Musa*, torrent, III. 323.
- Musingen*, near Berne, II. 367.

N.

- Näfels*, battle of, I. 39, 40.
- Nahl*, the sculptor, II. 379.

Nauders, village, III. 124.
Naviglio Grande, a canal joining the Po and the Adda, III. 331.
Neufchatel, lake of, II. 215. town; population; government, history, constitution, and laws, 217—236.
Neunack, hermitage near, II. 301.
Neunerer, a mountain, II. 368.
Newville, a town on the lake of Bienne, II. 244.
Nidau, town of, I. 148.
Niefs, a mountain, II. 368. 378.
Noirague, a village, II. 238.
Nolla, torrent, III. 206.
Nollen, the summit of Mount Titlis, I. 263.
Norman, kings of Sicily, their history, and genealogy, III. 193. 196.
Nyon, a town in the Pays de Vaud, II. 185.

O.

Obergestlen, village, I. 292.
Oberried, village, I. 32.
Oberwald, a village upon the Furca, I. 291.
Oberwalden, a division of the canton *Unterwalden*, I. 251.
Oëtodurum. See *Martigny*.
Oeschengrat, heights of, II. 373.
Offenburgh, an imperial town, I. 2.
Olten, a town in Soleure, I. 193. 194.
Orbe, river, II. 209. town, 210—212.
Orlenga, torrent, III. 94.
Osterwald, Mr. his account of the introduction of watch-making in Locle and La Chaux de Fond, II. 224.
Offogna, a village, III. 320.
Oswald, St. tutelary saint of Zug, I. 217.

P.

Paccard, Michael, a guide of Chamouny, II. 113. 120.
 ——— Dr. his expedition to the summit of Mont Blanc, II. 123, 124.
Palanza, burgh, III. 329.
Pantenbruck, a bridge in Glaris, I. 45.
Pays de Vaud, enchanting scenes in the, II. 185. wrested from Savoy by the canton Berne, 186. general account of the country, 180—207. subject to Berne, 304.
Payerne, town of, III. 1.
Pedinosa, valley of, III. 131.
Pennant, David, Esq. his letter upon the Italian bailliages, III. 317—332.
Perretti, Bartholomew, of Berbeno, saves the Protestants of that place from a general massacre, III. 152.
Perini, Mr. III. 105.
Peter, St. valley of, in the Grisons, III. 202.
Peter, St. island of; Rousseau retires thither; the author's excursion to the island, II. 243. description, 244. See *Rousseau*.
Petina, mountain, I. 275.
Pfeffers, village, III. 243. baths, 243, 244.
Pfeffikon, lake of, I. 112.
Pfiffer, general, his curious model of part of Switzerland, I. 224—227.
Pholades, a species of petrification, II. 369.
Physics, society for the cultivation of, Zurich, I. 97, 98.
Piantedio, district, III. 80.
Pierre Pertuis, a celebrated pass, I. 181. Roman inscription there, 182.
Pietists, a religious sect, their progress in Engadina, III. 27.

Filate, Mount, near Lucerne, I. 226.

229. 238.

Pisse Vache, a cataract in the Vallais, II. 69, 70.

Piuro. See *Plurs*.

Pizoni, the architect, I. 190.

Planta, family of, III. 103. their disputes with the Desalis's, 121.

Pliniana, village, III. 76. curious spring there, 76—78.

Pliny, the younger, III. 74. See *Corno*.

Plurs, destroyed by the fall of Mount Conto, III. 85—86.

Podesta, a Grison magistrate, III. 89. 133. & *passim*.

Polegio, a village, III. 319.

Pont, a village, II. 209.

Ponte alta, a bridge in Engadina, III. 111.

Pontarlier, a town in Burgundy, II. 237.

Ponte Tremolo, or trembling bridge, III. 318.

Ponto, a village, III. 101.

Porentru, principality of, the residence of the bishops of Basle, I. 152. 168. government, 170. population, *ibid.* city, 170.

Porto, village, III. 328.

Pregalia, valley of, III. 88. government, 88, 89. 94.

Premaglia, valley of, III. 129.

Pretigau, valley of, III. 240.

Promontogno, village, III. 94.

Prosa, village, I. 278.

Provisions, their price in the mountainous parts of Switzerland, II. 6, 7.

Pury, Mr. David, beautifies the town of Neufchatel, II. 218. his history and splendid donations to his native country, 219. remarks on their application, 220.

Rallingen, a place near the lake of Thun, II. 368.

Ramo, torrent, III. 127.

Ranunculus glacialis, a plant, II. 113.

Ranft, hermitage of St. Nicholas de Flue, I. 253.

Rapperschwyl, bridge of, I. 67. town, *ibid.* history and government, 68. convent at, 71. 110.

Raren, one of the dixains of the Vallais, II. 61.

Realp, a village in the valley of Urferen, I. 272. 287.

Regensberg, old and new, I. 116. history; situation, *ibid.* 117.

Reichenau, island of, I. 12.

—— town and valley, III. 214, 215.

Reichenbach, a river supposed to convey gold-dust into the bed of the Aar, I. 296. fall of the, II. 36. source, *ibid.*

Remus, village, III. 119. castle, *ib.*

Renz des vaches, a favorite air of the Swiss, its effects, I. 301. II. 216.

Retzuns, barons of, III. 200, 201. village, 210. revenues, 212. castle, *ib.* barony, 212, 213.

Reuss, river, I. 132, 223. 269—271, 276. its source, 274, 275.

—— a river in Neufchatel, II. 238.

Rhetia, ancient history of that country, III. 211.

Rhatzuns, See *Retzuns*.

Rheinfelden, rapidity of the Rhine there, I. 141.

Rheinthal. See *Rhine*.

Rheinwald, valley of, III. 202.

Rhine, river, fall at Lauffen, I. 9. II. forms the Zeller See, 12. valley of the Rhine or Rheinthal, 31, 32.

I N D E X.

- source of, 275. principal sources, III. 260.
Rhine, Hinder, its source, III. 202.
 — *Little*, its source, III. 100.
Rhodolph, count of Hapsburgh, I. 134.
 sketch of his achievements, *ibid.*
 remarks upon his character and
 fame, 135. a wooden statue of him
 at Basle, 151.
Rhone, source of the, I. 275. 290. 298,
 299. II. 60. 73.
Richard, Daniel John, introduces
 watchmaking in Locle, II. 224.
Richliswick, a town near Zurich, I.
 108, 109.
Rigi, mountain in Lucerne, I. 229.
Rihimer, major, succours Friburgh,
 II. 284, & seq.
Ripaille, a palace of Amadeus the
 Eighth, II. 190.
Riva, Marquis de, his palace at Lu-
 gano, III. 327.
 — village, III. 83.
Robustelli, his conspiracy, III. 149.
Rochat, a name common to most of
 the inhabitants of the valley of
 Joux, II. 209.
Roche, la, the residence of Haller,
 II. 201.
 — la, a village on the river Birs,
 I. 179.
Roman and Meilly, Genevans settled
 at Constance, I. 15.
Romansh, language, III. 203, 204.
 289. & seq.
Roncalia, village, III. 206.
Roshach, a small burgh, I. 21.
Rupicapra. See *Chamois*.
Rosengarten. See *Soleure*.
Rosenlavi, glacier, II. 39.
Rossier, Henry, takes P. N. Chenaux
 prisoner, II. 286, 287.
- Roussseau*, Jean Jacques, his residence
 at Moitier Travers; his mode of
 living there; singular obstinacy;
 extreme sensibility; obliged to quit
 Moitier Travers; retires to St. Pe-
 ter's isle: his mode of living there;
 II. 239 — 247.
Rusca, Nicolas, of Sondrio, killed
 by the Grisons, III. 194. See *His-*
tory of the Valteline. Account of
 him, 206. & seq.
Ruti, waterfal, at the village of, I.
 43.
Rux, valley of, II. 222.
- ## S.
- Salenche*, town and lake of, II. 181.
Saletz, a village, I. 30. journey
 from thence, 32.
Saleve, mountain, III. 3.
Salis, de, family, their disputes with
 the Planta's, III. 121.
 — Count de, his villa in Pregalia,
 III. 87.
 — Rodolph de, baron of Halden-
 stein, III. 227.
 — Mr. of Marschlins, institutes
 a seminary of literature among the
 Grisons, III. 230.
Salla, mountain, I. 278.
Salmons, found in the Linth, I. 44.
Salodurense castrum, ancient name of
 Soleure, I. 189.
Saluth, a fish. See *Silurus glanis*.
Salutz, Philip, an early reformer
 among the Grisons, III. 302.
Saltzman, Leodigar, abbot of Engel-
 berg, I. 261.
Samada, a village, III. 101.
Sandbach, a waterfal in Glaris, I.
 45, 46.
Sane, river, II. 269. 291.

I N D E X.

- Sanf Sacramento*, village, III. 329.
Santa croce, valley of, III. 87.
 — *Maria*, village, III. 125.
Saphorin, St. village in the Pays de Vaud, II. 194. Roman milestone there, *ibid.* note.
Sargans, county of, III. 243.
 — a village, I. 32.
Sarne, the capital of Oberwalden; lake of, I. 251.
Satzberg, mountain, I. 289. cold and warm springs there, 298.
Saussure, Mr. de, his opinion of goitres, II. 78. his expedition to Mont Blanc; ascends to the summit, 122. account of him and his works; his cabinet, III. 9. 10.
Savarenche, valley of, II. 165.
Savonne, mountain, III. 86.
Sax, counts of, III. 200, 201.
Saxelen, a town in Unterwalden, I. 252.
Scampf, a burgh, III. 105.
Schadan, castle of, II. 378.
Schaffhausen, I. 3. description of, 4. history, *ibid.* government, 5. revenues, *ibid.* trade, 6. defence, *ibid.* bridge of, 6, 7.
Schakeren, valley of, I. 267.
Schams, valley of, III. 202. 204.
Schargenbach, torrent, III. 124.
Scharla, valley, III. 118.
Scheidek, mountain, II. 6. 36. passage of the Scheidek, 40. & seq. summit of the, *ibid.* 376.
Schiers, village, III. 240.
Schilthorn, mountain, II. 369.
Schinner, Cardinal Matthew, bishop of Sion, I. 62. his history, 62—64.
Schintznach, baths of, I. 132.
Schnabelhorn, mountain, II. 369.
Schællenen, valley, I. 269—271.
Schreckhorn, mountain, I. 298. II. 40. 366. 375.
Schneepfen, a village, I. 232.
Schuppach, Michael, the physician, II. 381. account of his fame, skill and success, 381—386.
Schwartzberg, mountain, II. 369.
Schwartzzenburgh, chain of mountains running from thence to Vevay and Aigle, II. 298. 368.
Schwartzwald, glacier, II. 39.
Schweighauser, John George, his epitaph, I. 157.
Schweitz, canton, entrance of the, I. 217. lake of, 238. town, 239. history of the canton, 245, & seq. government, 247, 248. population, 248. soil and manners of the inhabitants, 249. intolerance in religion, *ibid.*
Schweitzerhaken, two singular rocks, I. 239.
Schweitzerland, or Swisserland, origin of the name, I. 247. its independence finally acknowledged, 248.
Scuol, a village, III. 118.
Seckingen, convent of, I. 38.
Seelisberg, mountain, I. 241.
Sesinen alps, II. 369.
Seduni. See *Sion*.
Sella, la, lake of, I. 275.
Selva Piana, lake of, III. 95. town, 96.
Selva, a village, III. 260.
Sempach, treaty of, I. 123. battle of, 218. remarkable instance of valor shown there, 219. lake of Sempach, 236. anniversary of the battle, *ibid.*
Senaire, mode of election at Basle, I. 154.
Sennebler, 

- Sennebier*, Mr. of Geneva, III. 8. & *passim*.
- Sernft*, quarry of, I. 42. river, 43.
- Serra*, la, a pass, III. 140.
- Serriere*, la, river, II. 215.
- Servan*, a village in Vallais, inhabited by a people famous for hunting the bouquetin, II. 172.
- Servetus*, persecuted by Calvin, III. 5.
- Sesto*, a village, III. 331.
- Set*, mountain, III. 94.
- Sewils*, village, III. 228.
- Sichellavinen*, II. 371.
- Siders*, in Vallais, II. 60, 61.
- Sigismund* the Simple, his wars with the Helvetic Confederacy; his alliance with the republics, II. 253-256.
- Siglio*, village, III. 95. lake, *ibid*.
- Silene Acaulis*, II. 127.
- Silurus glanis*, a large fish, II. 250.
- Simler*, the Reverend Mr. his library, I. 100.
- Sinner*, Mr. of Berne, II. 309.
- Sion*, capital of the Vallais, II. 60. situation of the town, 66, 67.
- Sitler*, river, I. 25.
- Soleure*, journey to, I. 188. town of; antiquity of; history; description of the town; prison; public library; circumjacent country; canton of Soleure; religion; military establishment; government; revenue; distinction of ancient and new burghers; assembly of the burghers, or *rosengarten*; residence of the French ambassador to the Helvetic body; treaty between France and the thirteen cantons, 189—209.
- Sondalo*, village, III. 140.
- Sondrio*, massacre of the protestants there, III. 151. description of the town and adjacent country, 176.
- Sopra-selva*, valley of, III. 255.
- Spaelg*, torrent, III. 112.
- Spengler*, Mr. repairs Schaffhausen bridge, I. 8. note.
- Spitzestock*, mountain, I. 359.
- Splugen*, a village, III. 100. 102.
- mountain, 197. passage over, *ibid*.
- Sprecher*, Fortunatus, the historian, III. 238, 239. his account of the bouquetin, II. 165.
- Sprungli*, Mr. of Berne, his excellent collection of Swiss birds, II. 357, & *seq.* — 365.
- Staffach*, Werner de, of Schweitz, assists in planning the revolution which established the liberty of Switzerland, I. 246.
- Staldenfluh*, a calcareous stone, II. 371.
- Stampa*, village, III. 94.
- Stantz*, the capital of Unterwalden, its situation, I. 257. convention of, 123. 125. 254. treaty of brought about by Nicholas de Flue, 255.
- Stantzberg*, mountain, I. 256.
- Staubbach*, a cataract, II. 44, 45.
- Stein*, a small independent town, I. 12.
- Steinberg*, castle, III. 118.
- Stoher*, Conrad, companion to Mr. Freygrabend. See *Freygrabend*.
- Stockhorn*, mountain, II. 368.
- Strasburgh*, I. 1.
- Stuffistein*, glacier, II. 373.
- Suffers*, village, III. 203.
- Sulek*, mountain, II. 369.

INDEX.

- Salpice*, St. village, II. 238.
Sare, river, I. 183.
Sarecha, mountain, I. 278.
Suren alps, I. 359.
Surset, valley, III. 204.
Surzee, a town in Lucerne, I. 236.
Sust, a village, III. 118.
Smart-horn, mountain, III. 236.
Swiss-troops, first enlisted in the French service, I. 207. remarks upon their service in foreign powers, & seq.
Switzerland, general reflections upon its various laws and government, III. 66, & seq. See *Schweitzerland*.
- T.**
- Tacu*, glacier, II. 114—117.
Talefre, glacier, II. 112. 117.
Tamina, river, III. 244.
Tamins, town, III. 254.
Tauven, village, III. 125.
Tavannes, or Dachfeld, a village, I. 131.
Tavetch, community of, III. 258. valley of, 259.
Teglio, massacre of the Protestants there, III. 150. description of the town and adjacent country, 175, 176.
Tell, William, his chapel, I. 217. 241. doubts concerning the authenticity of his history, 242—244.
Ten jurisdictions, league of the, its history, III. 232—234. union with the two other leagues, 246.
Ternaire, mode of election at Basle, I. 154.
Terzero, di sopra, di mezza, and di sotto, governments of the Valteline, III. 160.
Tesino, river, source of, I. 174. III. 318, & seq.
Tête Noire, la, mountain, II. 100.
Teufelsbrück, or Devil's Bridge, I. 271.
Thiele, river, II. 213. 249.
Thomas, St. lake of, III. 260.
Thun, lake of, II. 51. 369. town of, 378. road to, *ibid.* situation and government, *ibid.*
Thurgau, I. 122, & *passim*.
Tippet grebe, a bird, II. 201.
Tirano, capital of Upper Terzero, III. 141. fair held there, 142. massacre of the Protestants, 149.
Tissay, Victor, a guide, II. 120.
Tissot, the celebrated physician, II. 189.
Titlis, mountain, I. 260. See Mr. *Freygrabend*.
Tomliasca, valley, III. 206. 210.
Tophus. See *Tuf*.
Torrenberg, Count Peter of, oppresses the inhabitants of Entlibuch, I. 231.
Torrens, family of, II. 202.
Torture, still used in Switzerland, III. 70.
Tourbillion, a rock at Sion in the Vallais, II. 66.
Trasp, village and castle, III. 118.
Travers, John de, III. 299. his history, 299—302.
 ——— village, II. 237, 238.
Trezzo, canal of, III. 275.
Trient, a torrent in Vallais, II. 69. valley of, 72.
Trisa, river, III. 328.
Trivabach, village, I. 32.

INDEX.

- Trogen*, a village in Appenzel, I. 25.
Trouadors, or jurymen in Engadina, III. 107.
Trout, description of a large species caught in the lakes of Switzerland, I. 18, 19.
Truns, diet of, III. 211. town, 255, 256.
Tryphon, St. castle of, II. 202.
Tschanner, Mr. bailiff of Avenches, II. 265.
Tuf, a calcareous substance, impregnating the water of the springs in those countries where *goitres* are common, II. 75—80.
Turnio, village, III. 76.
Turretini, Mr. Pictet, of Geneva, III. 11.
Tusis, village, III. 206.
Tutschet, James, a reformer among the Grisons, III. 302.
Tyrol, mountains of, I. 31.
- U.
- Ufnau*, island of, I. 109, 110.
Undevil, a village in Appenzel, I. 25.
Unterseven, valley of, II. 369.
Unterwalden, canton of. See *Stantz* and *Uri*.
Uri, lake of, I. 240, romantic scenery of, *ibid.* history of Uri, Schweiz, Unterwalden, and Lucerne, 244. government, 247, 248. population, 248. soil and inhabitants, 249. intolerance in religion, *ibid.*
Urnerloch, a subterraneous passage, I. 271.
Urs, St. church of, at Soleure, I. 190.
- Urseren*, valley of, 271. village of, 272. population and government, *ib.* description, 273. 287. III 260, 261.
Urstar, castle of, I. 113. history, 114.
Utlberg, mountain, I. 82.
- V.
- Valeria*, a rock at Sion in the Vallais, III. 66.
Vallais, I. 291. inhabitants, 292, 293. description of the country, II. 60. 72. constitution, 61, 62. history, *ibid.* manufacture, 73.
Vallengin, principality of; town of, II. 222. rights, laws, and constitution, 234—236.
Valmorara, III. 100.
Val sainte, convent, secularized, II. 280.
Valteline, or Valle Telina, III. 143. history of the, 143—159. massacre of the Protestants, 149—152. government and laws, 160—174. extreme venality of the magistrates, *ibid.* commerce, 182, 183. population, 183. productions, 184—186.
Varese, town, III. 328.
Vats, barons, III. 233.
Vaux, la, a district in the Pays de Vaud, II. 193.
Vegetation, idea of a scale of, I. 293.
Venel, Mr. a humane institution established by him, II. 211, 212.
Versoy, a village, II. 184, 185.
Vevay, town in the Pays de Vaud, II. 194.
Via Mala, in the Grisons, III. 204, 205.
Vico Soprano, in Pregalia, III. 89. 94.

I N D E X.

- Viescherhorn*, mountain, II. 374.
Vigur, Monsieur de, III. 1.
Villeneuve, a town near the lake of Geneva, II. 200.
Vindonissa. See *Windish*.
Viret, Peter, a reformer at Geneva, III. 4.
Visp, one of the dixains in the Valais, II. 61.
Vogelsberg, mountain, III. 202.
Vuilly, mountain, II. 251.
Vultur barbatus, the bearded vulture, natural history of the, II. 357, & seq.
- W.**
- Wald-nachtal*, valley, I. 266.
Waldstätter see, or lake of the four cantons, I. 237.
Wallenstadt, town of, I. 34, 35. lake, 35, 36.
Wasen, village, I. 269.
Weddenschweil, a town near Zurich, I. 107. its history, *ibid.* population, *ibid.* remarkable waterfall near, 103.
Weissenstein, a chain of the Jura, I. 188.
Wengenalp, II. 371.
Werdenberg, counts of, III. 200, 201.
Wertzenburgh, castle of, I. 173.
Wertzenstein, a convent, I. 235.
Wetterhorn, mountain, I. 298. II. 6. 39. 375.
Wettingen, curious bridge, I. 130.
Windish, a village, anciently *Vindonissa*, I. 138.
Winke, a village near Lucerne, I. 251.
- Winkelried*, Arnold de, his extraordinary valor, I. 219.
Winterthur, town of, I. 118. history, 119. government, *ibid.* public library and antiquities, *ibid.*
Worbe, village, II. 379.
Wytttenbach, the Reverend, of Berne, II. 42. 52. 54. institutes a society for the cultivation of physic and natural history, 310. his cabinet of the natural productions of Switzerland, 357—365. his plan and description of the Alps seen from Berne, 365, & seq.
- Y.**
- Yverdun*, town and lake, II. 213.
Yvorne, a ruined place near the lake of Geneva, II. 201.
- Z.**
- Zaringen*, dukes of, I. 131.
Zell, town of, I. 12. lake of, *ibid.*
Zessenberg, mountain, II. 375.
Zillis, village, III. 204.
Zinkeberg, mountain, I. 301.
Zoffingen, a town in Berne, I. 235.
Zug, town of, I. 215. history of canton Zug, 215, 216. government, *ibid.* departure from thence, 217. lake of, *ibid.*
 — a remarkable rock, III. 235.
Zuingli, Ulric, the reformer, his history and character, I. 73—75. killed at the battle of Cappel, 75.
Zünfte, or tribes, at Basle, I. 153, 154.
 — Ann, I. 99.

I N D E X.

Zundorf, a village in the valley of Urseren, I. 272. 287.

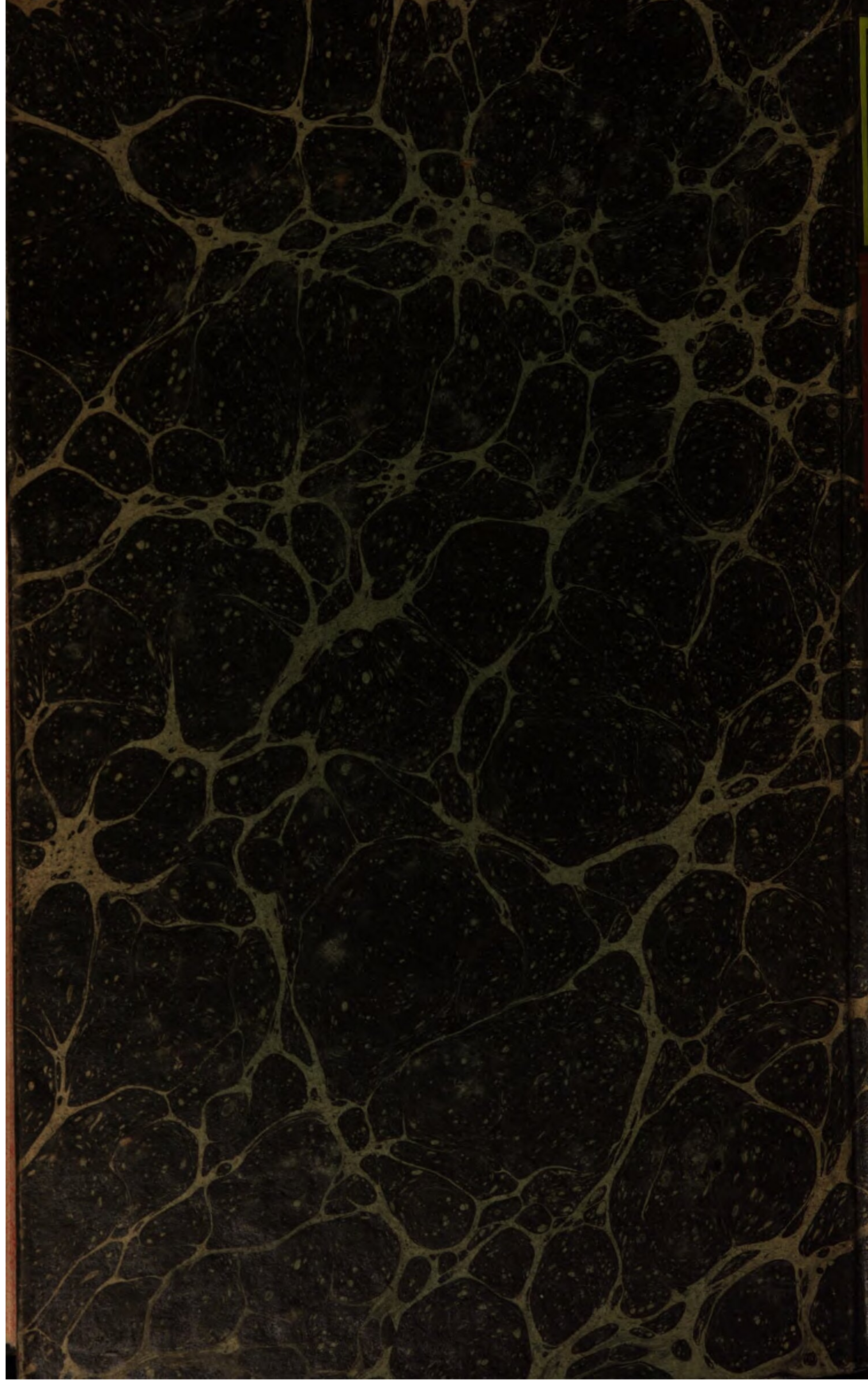
Zuric, lake of, I. 67. canton; history; religion; state of cultivation; population; policy in regard to granting burgherships; privileges of the burghers; government; laws; senate; revenue; criminal jurisprudence; city of Zuric; its situation and buildings; manufactories; population; man-

ners of the inhabitants; sumptuary laws; military force; ecclesiastical government; church revenues; charitable establishments; chirurgical seminary; education; learning; learned men; society of natural history and physics; public library private libraries; environs of Zuric; Zuric accedes to the alliance with France, 72—212.

Zutz, a village, III. 101. 103.

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